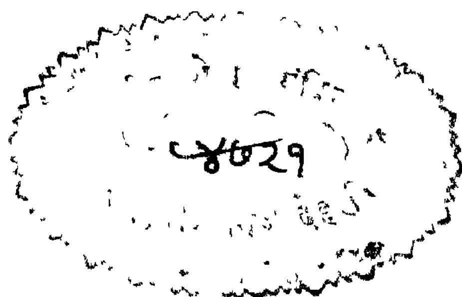
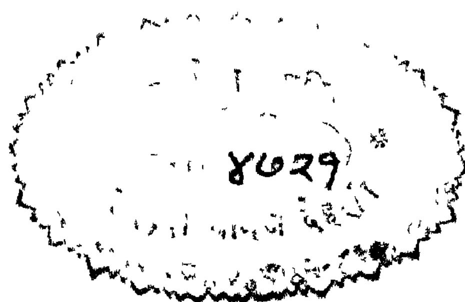


EARLY HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN



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DOWN TO THE MAHOMEDAN CONQUEST

BY

R. G. BHANDARKAR

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 13, line 23, for *peculiarities*[10] Read *peculiarities*[8]

Page 28, line 6, after *Gotamiputra* add *Satakarni who is also called the royal mother She therein speaks etc*

Page 36, line 33, after *And* add *even if one understand him to have conquered them after 72, Pulumayi's accession etc*

Page 36, line 34, delete the word *his*

R. G. BHANDARKAR

(1837-1925)

Orientalist and social reformer born July 6, 1837 · educated at Ratnagiri and Elphinstone College, Bombay M.A., 1866 : Dakshina Fellow there 1859, and later in the Dekkan College, Poona, till 1864 : in the Bombay Education Department 1864-93 . Head-master of Hyderabad (Sind) and Ratnagiri High Schools, 1864-9 acting Professor of Sanskrit and Oriental Languages in Elphinstone College, Assistant Professor many years, till 1881 Professor of Sanskrit at Deccan College, Poona, 1882-93 . Fellow of Bombay University from 1866 , Syndic, 1873-81 , Vice-Chancellor, 1893-5 , Hon LL D., 1904 Member of the Governor General's Legislative Council, 1903-4, when the Universities Act was passed Member of Bombay Legislative Council, 1904-5 ; Fellow of Calcutta University, 1887 ; Member of learned Societies, *e g* , R A. S London, 1874 ; R A. S. Bombay, 1865 , German Oriental Society, 1887 , American Oriental Society, 1887 , Asiatic Society of Italy, 1887 , of Imperial Academy of Science, St. Petersburg, 1888 Foreign Member of the French Institute, 1895 ; also of the International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1874 ; and of Vienna, 1866 which he attended C I E., 1887 retired from service, 1893 , Hon Phil. Dr Gothingen University contributed largely to Journals and Transactions of learned Societies, especially in Bombay, on philosophical and antiquarian subjects also to the Indian Antiquary first lecturer on the Wilson Lectureship, Bombay University reported on his researches for Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Presidency edited the text of the Sanskrit *Malati-Madhava* and has written Sanskrit educational works · *A Peep into the Early History of India,* 1920, *Early History of the Dekkan,* 1884, *Vaishnavism, Saivism and other minor religions,* 1913, *Collected Works of Sir R G Bhandarkar,* 1933 etc ; Died 5th Sept 1925.

SECTION I

Etymology of the Word "Dekkan" and its Denotation

The word "Dakkhan" represents the vernacular pronunciation of the Sanskrit word Dakshina, meaning "southern," used to designate the portion of the Indian Peninsula lying to the south of the Narmada. The name more usually met with in Sanskrit works and elsewhere is Dakshinapatha or "the Southern Region." That this name was in ordinary use in ancient times is shown by the fact that the author of the Periplus calls that portion of the country Dakhinabades.[1] In the vernacular or Prakrit speech of the time, the Sanskrit Dakshinapatha must have become Dakkhinabadha or Dakkhinavadha by the usual rules, and the Greek writer must have derived his name from this popular pronunciation The shorter form of the name also must have been in use, since in the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era, Fah-Hian,[2] the Chinese traveller, was told at Benares that there was a country to the south called Ta-Thsin, which word corresponds to the Sanskrit Dakshina

Denotation of the Word Dekkan

Dakshinapatha or Dakshina was the name of the whole peninsula to the south of the Narmada Among the countries enumerated in the Markandeya[3], Vayu[4], and Matsya[5] Puranas as comprised in Dakshinapatha are those of the Cholas, Pandyas and Keralas, which were situated in the extreme south of the peninsula, and correspond to the modern provinces of Tanjor, Madura, and Malabar In the Mahabharata, however, Sahadeva, the youngest of the Pandu princes, is represented in his career of conquest to have gone to Dakshinapatha after having conquered the king of the Pandyas [6] This would show that the country of the Pandyas was not included in Dakshinapatha. Again, the rivers Godavari and others springing from the Sahyadri are spoken of in the Vayu Purana as rivers of Dakshinapatha[7], while the Narmada and the Tapi are not so styled, whence it would seem that the valleys of those rivers were not included in Dakshinapatha The word thus appears

[1] Ind Ant, Vol VIII, p 143 [2] Travels of Fah-Hian by S. Beal, p 193

[3] Chap. 57, v. 45, Ed Bibliotheca Indica. The reading of the second line, however, is wrong It ought to be, Pandyas cha Keralas chaiva Cholah Kulyas tathaiva cha, as it is in the MSS I have consulted

[4] Chap 45, v 124, Ed Bib Ind [5] Chap 112, v 46, Poona lithographed Ed

[6] Sabhaparvan, Chap. 31, v. 17, Bom. Ed

[7] Chap 45, v. 104, Ed Bib. Ind.

not to have been always used in the same sense. In modern times it is the name of the country between the Narmada on the north and a variable line along the course of the Krishna to the south, exclusive of the provinces lying to the extreme east. It is thus almost identical with the country called Maharashtra or the region in which the Marathi language is spoken, the narrow strip of land between the Western Ghats and the sea being excluded. A still narrower definition is that which excludes from this tract the valleys of the Narmada and the Tapi, and to this extent we have seen that there is authority for it in the Vayu Purana Thus the word Dekkan expresses the country watered by the upper Godavari and that lying between that river and the Krishna. The name Maharashtra also seems at one time to have been restricted to this tract For that country is, in the Puranas[8] and other works, distinguished on the one hand from Aparanta or Northern Konkan, and from the regions on either side of the Narmada and the Tapi inhabited by the Pulindas and Sabaras, as well as from Vidarbhas on the other In a comparatively modern work entitled Ratnakosa,[9] Maharashtra, Vaidarbha, Tapi-tata-desa and Narmada-tata-desa (*i e*, the countries on either side of those rivers), and the Konkan are spoken of as distinct from each other The Dekkan or Maharashtra in this narrowest sense of the word forms the subject of the present notice

SECTION II

Settlement of the Aryas in the Dekkan

It is now a recognised fact that the Aryas who came to India were at first confined to eastern Afghanistan and the Panjab Thence they emigrated to the east and for a time the eastern-most province occupied by them was Bramhavarta or their holy land, lying between the rivers Sarasvati, the modern Sarasuti, and Drishadvati,[1] a stream in the vicinity, that is, the country about Thanesar There the system of castes and orders and the sacrificial religion seem to have been fully developed Thence they spread to the east and the south, and gradually occupied the whole country between the Himalaya and the Vindhya This last mountain range must for a long time have formed the southern boundary of their settlements. For the name Aryavarta or the region occupied by the Aryas, as explained by Manu[2] and even by Patanjali[3] the author of the

[8] See the chapters of the three Puranas referred to in the preceding notes

[9] Aufrecht's Cat of MSS in the Bodleian Library, p 352

[1] Manu II, 17.

[2] Manu II., 23.

[3] Patanjali's Mahabhashya under Pan, II., 4, 10

Mahabhashya on Panini's grammar, signified exclusively the part of the country situated between those mountain ranges. The Vindhya, which by its height seemed to obstruct the passage of the sun, was impassable to them The name Pariyatra was given to the more northern and western portion of the range from which the rivers Chambal and Betva take their rise, probably because it was situated on the boundary of their Yatra or range of communication After a while, however, the sage Agastya, in poetical language, bade the mountain not to grow high, that is, crossed it and established an Asram or hermitage to the south and thus led the way to other settlements.

VIDARBHA, THE FIRST ARYAN PROVINCE IN THE SOUTH

The first or oldest Aryan province in the southern country must have been the Vaidarbha or the Berars. For in the Ramayana when Sugriva the monkey-king sends his followers to the different quarters in search of Rama's wife Sita and Ravana her ravisher, he directs them to go among other southern countries to Vidarbhas, Richikas, and Mahishakas, and also to Dandakaranya (the forest of Dandaka) and the river Godavari [4] This shows that while the country about the Godavari, that is, the Dekkan or Maharashtra in the narrowest sense of the terms, was a forest, Vidarbha was an inhabited country In the Mahabharata also Agastya is represented to have given a girl that he produced by his miraculous powers to the king of Vidarbha, and after she had grown to be a woman demanded her of the king in marriage.[5]

DANDAKARANYA, THE SAME AS MAHARASHTRA

In the Ramayana, Rama is represented to have lived for a long time in Dandakaranya, at a place called Panchavti situated on the banks of the Godavari about two yojanas from the hermitage of Agastya [6] That this Dandakaranya was the modern Maharashtra is shown by the fact stated above, that it was watered by the river Godavari, and by several others. According to the Hindu ritual it is necessary when beginning any relgious ceremony to pronounce the name of the country in which it is performed. The Brahmanas in Maharashtra do not utter the name Maharashtra but Dandakaranya with the word *desa* or "country" attached to it.

[4] Ramay, IV, Chap. 41. Bom. Ed
[5] Mahabh, Bom. Ed. III., Chap 96, 97.
[6] Ramay, III, 13, 13, Bom. Ed.

PANCHAVATI

In the introduction to Hemadri's Vratakhanda, a work written more than six hundred years ago, Devagiri, the modern Daulatabad, is spoken of as situated in a district on the confines of Dandakaranya Nasik claims to be the Panchavati where Rama lived But the poet could hardly be expected to have brought his hero from the Vindhya to such a remote westerly place as Nasik The river Godavari must, from the description occurring in the Ramayana as well as in Bhavabhuti's Uttara Ramacharita, have been wide at Rama's Panchavati It could hardly have been so at Nasik, which is very near its source On the other hand, "the region about the northern part of the Sahyadri through which flowed the river Godavari and in which Govardhana was situated" is in the Puranas represented as "the most charming on earth, and there, to please Rama, the sage Bharadvaja caused heavenly trees and herbs to spring up for his wife's enjoyment, and thus a lovely garden came into existence"[7] In the Markandeya, Govardhana is spoken of as a town, but the Vayu and the Matsya seem to mean it to be a mountain This Govardhana must, from the given position, be the same as the village of that name near Nasik, and thus the three Puranas must be understood as supporting the identification of Panchavati with Nasik

THE COMPLETE SUBJUGATION OF MAHARASHTRA BY THE ARYANS, PROVED BY THE PREVALENT DIALECT OF THE COUNTRY

But though Maharashtra was the last country occupied by the Indian Aryas, their subjugation of it was no less thorough than that of all northern countries Here, as there, they drove some of the aborigines to the fastnesses of mountains and jungles and incorporated the rest into their own society The present Marathi language is as much an offshoot of the Sanskrit as the other languages of northern India The ancient representatives of these dialects—the Maharashtri, the Sauraseni and the Magadhi, as well as an earlier form of speech, the Pali—show extensive corruptions of Sanskrit sounds, reducible however to a few general laws These cannot be accounted for by the natural operation of the causes which bring about the decay

[7] Markandeya, Chap 57, vv 34 35, Vayu, Chap 45 vv 112 114, Matsya, Chap 112, vv 37 39 The passage, however, is corrupt The three Puranas evidently derive their reading from the same original, but the text has been greatly corrupted The most ancient version of it seems to be that in the Vayu

of a language spoken throughout its history by the same race. For, this operation is slow and must be in continuance for a very long time in order to produce the wide-going phonetic changes which we observe in those Prakrit dialects, as they are called This long continued process must at the same time give rise to a great many changes in other respects. Such, however, we do not find in those dialects, and they do not in those respects show a very wide departure from the Sanskrit. The extensive corruptions of Sanskrit sounds, therefore, must be accounted for by the supposition that the language had to be spoken by races whose original tongue it was not. Those alien races could not properly pronounce the Sanskrit words used by the conquering Aryas, and thus the Prakrit forms of Sanskrit words represent their pronunciation of them A few sounds unknown to Sanskrit as well as some words not traceable to that language are also found in the Prakrits, and these point to the same conclusion

The Subjugation of the Country farther South, Partial

It thus appears that the Indian Aryas in their progress through the country came in contact with alien races, which were incorporated in their society and learnt their language at the same time that they preserved some of their original words and phonetic peculiarities [10] This was the state of things in the north down to the Maratha country. But farther south and on the eastern coast, though they penetrated there and communicated their own civilization to the aboriginal races inhabiting those parts, they were not able to incorporate them thoroughly into their own society and to root out their languages and their peculiar civilization. On the contrary, the Aryas had to learn the languages of those races and to adopt a portion at least of their civilization Thus the Kanarese, the Telugu, the Tamil, and the other languages now spoken in Southern India are not derived from the Sanskrit but belong altogether to a different stock, and hence it is also that southern art is so different from the northern The reason why the result of the Aryan irruption was so different in Southern India from what it was in the north appears to be that when the Aryas penetrated to the south there existed already well-organized communities and kingdoms In the passage in the Ramayana, referred to above, the monkey-soldiers are directed to go to the countries of the Andhras (Telugu people), the Pandyas, the Cholas, and the Keralas, in the south, and are

[10] These points I have developed in my Lecutres on the Sanskrit and the Prakrit languages derived from it.

told that they will there see the gate of the city of the Pandyas adorned with gold and jewels. And these races, their country, and their kings are alluded to in other Sanskrit works, as will be noticed hereafter In the north, however, at the time of the Aryan invasion, the condition of the country must have been similar to that of Dandakaranya, which is represented in the Ramayana as a forest infested by Rakshasas or wild tribes who disturbed the religious rites of the Brahman sages And throughout the older portion of Sanskrit literature, which is to be referred to the times when the Aryas were gradually progressing from the Panjab, the wild tribes they met with are spoken of under the name of Dasyus, Rakshasas and others.

SECTION III

Approximate Date of the Aryan Settlement in the Dekkan and Notices of Southern India in Ancient Indian Literature and Inscriptions

The Aryas Acquainted with Nortern India in the Time of the Aitareya Brahmana

We will now endeavour to determine approximately the period when the Aryas settled in Dandakaranya, and trace the relations between the civilized Aryan community of the north and the southern country at different periods of Sanskrit literature and at well known dates in Indian history In the Aitareya Brahmana, which is anterior to the whole of the so-called classical Sanskrit literature, the sage Visvamitra is represented to have condemned by a curse the progeny of fifty of his sons to "live on the borders" of the Aryan settlements, and these, it is said, "were the Andhras, Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas and Mutibas, and the descendants of Visvamitra formed a large portion of the Dasyus "[1] Of these the first four are spoken of as people living in the south, the Pundras in the Ramayana and the other three in the Puranas [2] From the later literature, the Pulindas and Sabaras appear to have been wild tribes living about the Vindhyas [3] Ptolemy places the former along the Narmada The Andhras, who in these days are identified with the Telugu people, lived about the mouth of the Godavari or perhaps farther to the north If these were the positions of the tribes in the time of the Aitareya Brahmana, the Indian Aryas must at that time have been acquainted with the whole country to the north of the Vindhya and a portion to the south-east of that range.

[1] Ait. Brah , VII 18 [2] See the passages above referred to
[3] In his Kadambari Bana places the Sabaras in the forest on the Vindhya range.

In Panini's Time

Panini in his Sutras or grammatical rules shows an extensive knowledge of the geography of India. Of the places and rivers mentioned by him a good many exist in the Panjab and Afghanistan; but the names of countries situated in the eastern portion of Northern India also occur in the Sutras. The countries farthest to the south mentioned by him are Kachchha (IV., 2, 133), Avanti (IV, 1, 176), Kosala (IV, 1, 171), Karusa (IV., 1, 178)[4] and Kalinga (IV., 1, 178)[5] The first is the same as the modern country of that name, Avanti is the district about Ujjayini, and Kalinga corresponds to the modern Northern Circars Kosala, Karusa, and Avanti are mentioned in the Puranas as countries situated on the back of the Vindhya[6] In the Ratnavali, a dramatic play, Kosala is also placed near that mountain range

Southern India unknown in all Likelihood in Panini's Time

Supposing that the non-occurrence of the name of any country farther south in Panini's work is due to his not having known it, a circumstance which, looking to the many names of places in the north that he gives, appears very probable, the conclusion follows that in his time the Aryas were confined to the north of the Vindhya, but did proceed or communicate with

[4] This name does not occur in the Sutra, but is the second in the list or Gana beginning with Bharga As regards the words occurring in these Ganas, I have on a previous occasion expressed my opinion that though it is not safe to attribute a whole Gana to Panini, (and in several cases we have clear indications that some of the words were inserted in later times), still the first three words might without mistake be taken to be his This was objected to by Weber But as my reasons were, as I thought, obvious, I did not think it necessary to defend my view I may, however, here state that since Panini refers to these Ganas in his Sutras by using the first word in the list with *adi*, equivalent to "and others," added to it, and since he uses the plural of the noun so formed, and the plural of a noun cannot be used unless three individuals at least of the class are meant, it is proper that we should understand him to be thinking of the first and two words at least more This observation is meant to be applicable generally In the present case, however, the expression *Bhargadi* forms a part of the compound, and the plural is not actually used, though it is clearly implied

[5] In the so-called Paniniya Siksha the expression Saurashtrika nari or "a woman of Surashtra" occurs But this should by no means be regarded as showing that Panini was acquainted with Surashtra The Paniniya Siksha cannot be the work of Panini; for the author of that treatise begins by stating that he is going to explain Siksha according to the views of Panini and ends a few verses in praise of the great grammarian Besides, the author notices the Prakrit dialects to which there is no allusion whatever in Panini's great work and writes in verse Grammatical treatises in verse are later than those in the form of Sutras. The Paniniya Siksha therefore must have been composed long after Panini.

[6] See the passages cited above.

the northernmost portion of the eastern coast, not by crossing that range, but avoiding it by taking an easterly course

SOUTHERN INDIA KNOWN TO KATYAYANA BUT UNKNOWN TO PANINI

Katyayana, however, the object of whose aphorisms called Vartikas is to explain and supplement Panini, shows an acquaintance with southern nations. Panini gives rules for the formation of derivatives from the names of tribes of warriors which are at the same time the names of the countries inhabited by them, in the sense of "one sprung from an individual belonging to that tribe," and also, it must be understood, in the sense of "king of the country" Thus a man sprung from an individual of the tribe of the Panchalas, or the king of the country Panchalas, is to be called Panchala, a descendant of a Salva, or the king of the country of the Salvas, is to be called Salveya, &c Katyayana notices here an omission, the name Pandya is not explained by Panini Katyayana therefore adds, "one sprung from an individual of the tribe of the Pandus or the king of their country, should be called a Pandya"[7] Similarly, Panini tells us that in either of these senses no termination should be appended to the word *Kambojas*, which was the name of a non-Aryan people in the north-west, nor should any of its vowels be changed, but that the word *Kamboja* itself means "one sprung from an individual of the Kamboja tribe, or the king of the country of the Kambojas"[8] Katyayana says that in this rule, the expression "and others" should be added to the word Kambojas, for the rule applies also to the names "Cholas and others," that is, persons sprung from an individual of the Chola and other tribes, and the kings of the Chola and other countries should be called by the names "Chola and others" Similarly, Panini tells us that the countries Kumudvat, Nadvat, and Vetasvat are so called because they contain Kumudas or water-lilies, Nadas or reeds, and Vetas or canes, respectively[9] Katyayana adds, "Mahishmat is so called because it contains Mahisahs or buffaloes" Now Mahishmat appears to be the same southern country which in the Puranas is associated with Maharashtra and is called Mahishakas Mahishmati on the banks of the Narmada was probably its capital Here we may, I think, argue, as Goldstucker has done[10] in many similar cases, that had Panini known the Pandyas, Cholas, and Mahishmat,

[7] Pandor dyan, which is a Vartika on Pan IV 1, 168
[8] Pan IV, 1, 175.
[9] Pan IV, 2, 87
[10] In a Vartika on Pan VI, 1, 63

he would not have omitted the names from his rules, considering how careful a grammarian he was. Very likely, then, he did not know them, and this supposition is strengthened by the fact alluded to above that the name of no other southern country occurs in his Sutras Thus then the Aryas of the north were not familiar with the southern countries and tribes in the time of Panini, but were so in the time of Katyayana. The latter author also mentions a town of the name of Nasikya, which is very likely the same as our modern Nasik.

Patanjali intimately acquainted with Southern India

Patanjali shows an intimate acquaintance with the south As a grammarian he thinks it his duty to notice the lingual usages in the south and tells us that in Dakshinapatha the word *Sarasi* is used to denote large lakes[11] He mentions Mahishmati,[12] Vaidarbha,[13] Kanchipura[14] the modern Conjeveram, and Kerala[15] or Malabar Patanjali's date, B C. 150, may now be relied upon That author notices variant readings of Katyayana's Vartikas as found in the texts used by the schools of the Bharadvajiyas, Saunagas, and others Some of these might be considered as emendations of the Vartikas, though Patanjali's introduction of them by the verb *pathanti*, "they read," is an indication that he regarded them as different readings A sufficiently long time therefore must have elapsed between Katyayana and Patanjali to give rise to these variants or emendations I am therefore inclined to accept the popular tradition which refers Katyayana to the time of the Nandas who proceeded the Mauryas, and to assign to him the first half of the fourth century before Christ In this manner the interval between Katyayana and Patanjali was about two hundred years Now, Goldstucker has shown from an examination of the Vartikas that certain grammatical forms are not noticed by Panini but are taught by Katyayana, and concludes that they did not exist in the language in Panini's time I have followed up the argument in my lectures "on the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages," and given from the Vartikas several ordinary instances of such forms. From these one of two conclusions only is possible, *viz*, either that Panini was a very careless and ignorant grammarian, or that the forms did not exist in the language in his time The first is of course inadmissible, wherefore the second must be accepted. I have also shown from a passage in the introduction to Patanjali's Mahabhashya,

[11] Mahabhashya on Pan, I, 1, 19.
[12] On Pan III, 1, 26
[13] IV, fourth Ahnika
[14] IV, 2, second Ahnika
[15] IV, 1, fourth Ahnika.

that verbal forms such as those of the Perfect which are taught by Panini as found in the Bhasha or current language, not the Chhandasa or obsolete language, had gone out of use in the time of Katyayana and Patanjali, and participles had come to be used instead[16] Goldstucker has also given a list of words used by Panini in his Sutras in a sense which became obsolete in the time of Katyayana, and shown what portion of Sanskrit literature did not probably exist in Panini's time but was known to Katyayana, and in one case comes to the not unjustifiable conclusion that the time that elapsed between Panini and Katyayana was so great that certain literary works which either did not exist in Panini's time or were not old to him came to be considered by Katyayana to be as old as those which were old to Panini

The Aryas penetrated to the Dekkan after the beginning of about the Seventh Century B C

No less an interval of time than about three centuries can account for all these circumstances Panini, therefore, must have flourished in the beginning of the seventh century before the Christian era, if not earlier still ; and against this conclusion I believe no argument has been or can be brought except a vague prejudice And now to our point, the Indian Aryas had thus no knowledge of Southern India previous to the seventh century before Christ, they had gone as far as the Northern Circars by the eastern route, but no farther, and the countries directly to the south of the Vindhya they were not familiar with About that time, however, they must have begun to penetrate still further, since they had already settled in or had communication with the countries on the northern skirts of the Vindhya and Kalinga, and first settled in Vidarbha or Berar, approaching it still, it would appear, by the eastern route, but in the course of some time more they crossed the Vindhya and settled in Dandakaranya along the banks of the Godavari, that is, in Maharashtra or the Dekkan Before B C 350 they had become familiar with the whole country down to Tanjor and Madura

Chronological Value of the Epics

A chronological conclusion based on the occurrence of certain words or names in the great epics is not likely to be so safe. Though a Mahabharata existed before Panini and Asvalayana, it is highly questionable whether our present text is the same as that which existed in their times. On the contrary, the

[16] See the passage in the first Ahnika beginning with *Astyaprayuktah*.

probability is that the work has been added to from time to time; and the text itself has undergone such corruption that no one can be positively certain that a particular word was not foisted into it in comparatively modern times. The text of the Ramayana also has become corrupt, though additions do not seem to have been made to it. Still the Bengali rescension of the poem like the Bengali rescensions of more recent works does contain additions. The text prevalent in this part of the country and in the south is more reliable; and though innumerable differences of reading exist in the different manuscripts even on this side, still there is hardly any material difference But the date of the Ramayana is uncertain; the present Hindu belief based on the Puranas is that Rama's incarnation is older than Krishna's, and consequently the Ramayana older than the Mahabharata, but it is not a little curious that while there is an allusion to Vasudeva and Arjuna and to Yudhishthira in Panini, and Patanjali frequently brings in Mahabharata characters in his illustrations and examples, there is not one allusion to Rama or his brothers or their father Dasaratha in the works of those grammarians Even a much later author, Amarasimha, the lexicographer, in his list of the synonyms of Vishnu, gives a good many names derived from the Krishna incarnation, but the name of Rama, the son of Dasaratha, does not occur, though Rama or Balabhadra, the brother of Krishna, is mentioned Still, whatever chronological value may be attached to the circumstance, the occurrence of the names of places in the Dekkan contained in those epics I have already to some extent noticed Sahadeva is represented to have subdued the Pandyas, Dravidas, Udras, Keralas, and Andhras,* and also to have visited Kishkindha, which was probably situated somewhere near Hampi, the site of the Pampa lake or river, where Rama met Sugriva the monkey chief, though the country Kaishkindha is placed by the Puranas among those near the Vindhyas He went also to Surparaka, the modern Supara near Bassein, Dandaka, the same as Dandakaranya but not mentioned as a forest, Karahataka the modern Karhada on the confluence of the Krishna and the Koina, and to others The countries mentioned in the passage in the Ramayana, alluded to above, as lying to the south are Utkala, probably the modern Ganjam, Kalinga, Dasarna, Avanti, Vidarbha, and others The district near Bhilsa must have been called Dasarna in ancient times; for its capital was Vidisa, which was situated, as stated by Kalidasa in Meghaduta on

* Sabhap, Chap. 31

the Vetravati or Vetva and is thus to be identified with the modern Bhilsa. All these are thus in the vicinity of the Vindhya or nearly in the same line with it farther east But between these and the southermost countries of the Cholas, Pandyas, and Keralas, the Ramayana mentions no other place or country but Dandakaranya This condition of the country, as observed before, is to be considered as previous to the Aryan settlements in the Dekkan, while that represented by the Mahabharata in the place indicated seems subsequent, whatever may be the chronological relation between the two epics. One thing is, however, clear that the name Maharashtra does not occur in either of them

NAMES OF PEOPLES IN THE DEKKAN IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

In the middle of the third century before Christ, Asoka, the great king of the Maurya dynasty reiging at Pataliputra in Magadha, speaks in his rock-inscriptions, which are found at Girnar in Kathiawad on the west and Dhauli in Katak and Jaugad in Ganjam on the eastern coast, and also at Khalsi in the Himalaya and Shahbaz-giri in Afganistan, of his having sent ministers of religion to the Rastikas and the Petenikas and to the Aparantas The last which we know best is Northern Konkan, the capital of which was Surparaka Petenikas is not unlikely the same as Paithanakas, *i e*, the people or country about Paithana on the Godavari The vernacular pronunciation of the name of the city, which in Sanskrit is Pratishthana, was in those days, as it now is, Pethana or Paithana, for both the author of the Periplus and Ptolemy call it Paithana or Baithana The Rastikas, the Sanskrit of which name is Rashtrikas, were very likely the people of Maharashtra, for a tribe of the name of Rattas has from the remotest times held political supremacy in the Dekkan One branch of it assumed the name of Rashtrakutas and governed the country before the Chalukyas acquired power It re-established itself after about three centuries, but had to yield to the Chalukyas again after some time In later times, chieftains of the name of Rattas governed Sugandhavarti or Saundatti in the Belgaum districts In the thirteenth edict the Petenikas are associated with Bhojas instead of Rastikas Bhojas, we know, ruled over the country of Vidarbha or Berar[17] and also in other parts of the Dekkan In the inscriptions in the caves at Kuda,[18] the

[17] In the Dasakumaracharita, the family of Bhojas has been represented as having held sway over the Vidarbha country for a long time

[18] Kuda inscriptions Nos 1, 9, 17, 19, 28 and Bedsa No 2 Arch. Surv of West Ind, No 10,

name "Mahabhoja" or Great Bhoja occurs several times, and once in an inscription at Bedsa. Just as the Bhojas called themselves Mahabhojas, the Rashtrikas, Rattis, Ratthis, or Ratthas called themselves Maharatthis or Maharatthas, as will be shown below, and thus the country in which they lived came to be called Maharattha, the Sanskrit of which is Maharashtra. In the second and the thirteenth edicts, the outlying provinces of the Cholas, Pandyas, Ketalaputras (Chera or Kerala), and the Andhras and Pulindas are mentioned Thus about a hundred years before Patanjali the whole of the southern peninsula up to Cape Comorin was in direct communication with the north, and the Dekkan or Maharashtra had regular kingdoms governed by Rattas and Bhojas.

THE OCCURRENCE OF THE NAMES "MAHARATHI," "MAHARATTHA" AND "MAHARASHTRA" IN BOOKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

In the Mahavamso, a Ceylonese chronicle which was written in the third quarter of the fifth century of the Christian era, and in the Dipavamso. which is much older, the Buddhist saint Moggaliputto, who conducted the proceedings of the third convocation said to have been held in the time of Asoka, is represented to have sent missionaries to Maharattha, Aparantaka, and Vanavasi [19] Whether the name Maharattha or Maharashtra had come into use in the time of Asoka does not appear clear from this, but that it was used in the early centuries of the Christian era admits of little doubt In some inscriptions in the cave-temples at Bhaja, Bedsa, and Karli which are to be referred to the second century, the male donors are called Maharathi and the female Maharathini, which names, as observed before, correspond to Mahabhoja and Mohabhoji and signify the great Rathi (man and woman) [20] Similarly, in the large cave at Nanaghat a Maharathi hero is mentioned. Of the old Prakrits the principal one was called Maharashtri, because we are told it was the language of Maharashtra. We have a poem in this dialect entitled Setubandha attributed to

[19] Mahavamso, Turnour's Ed , pp 71 and 72, and Dipavamso, Oldenberg's Ed , p 54 The latter however omits Vanavasi

[20] Arch Surv of West Ind. No 10 , Bhaja No 2 , Bedsa No. 2 , Karli Nos 2 and 14 Pandit Bhagvanlal appears to me clearly wrong here in taking Maharathi to be equal to the Sk. Maharathi and translating it as "a great warrior," for in Bedsa No 2, a woman is called Maharathini where the word certainly cannot mean a great warrior, and to interpret it as "the wife or daughter of a great warrior" is simply begging the question Maharathi appears clearly to be the name of a tribe and is the same as our modern Maratha It will appear from this inscription that there were intermarriages between the Mahabhojas and the Maharathis, for the lady mentioned in this inscription was the daughter of a Mohabhoja and a Maharathini or the wife of a Maharathi.

Kalidasa and mentioned by Dandin, and a collection of amorous verses attributed to Salivahana. It is the language of Prakrit verses put into the mouths of women in Sanskrit dramatic plays. Its grammar we have in Vararuchi's Prakrit Prakasa, but the date of this author is uncertain. Though the date of Kalidasa has not yet been satisfactorily determined, still he is mentioned as a poet of great merit in the first half of the seventh century by Bana in his Harshacharita in the north,[21] and in an inscription at Aiholi[22] dated 556 Saka in the south. A hundred years is not too long a period to allow for the spread of his fame throughout the country, perhaps it is too short. Kalidasa may therefore be referred to that period of Sanskrit literature in which the nine gems flourished, and which has been placed by Kern in the first half of the sixth century[23] The Maharashtri dialect, therefore, in which Kalidasa wrote the Setubandha and the Prakrit verses in his plays must have undergone a course of cultivation for about two or three centuries earlier and been called by that name, since it has been known by no other in the whole literature Varahamihira also, who lived in the beginning of the sixth century, speaks of Maharashtra as a southern country, and in the Aiholi inscription alluded to above Maharashtra is mentioned as comprising three countries and ninety-nine thousand villages Hwan Thsang, the Chinese traveller, calls the country ruled over by the Chalukyas in the second quarter of the seventh century, Moholocha, which has been properly identified with Maharashtra The occurrence of the name of Maharashtra in the Puranas has already been noticed.

SECTION IV

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN OR MAHARASHTRA—ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CAVE-TEMPLES OF WESTERN INDIA

EXTENT OF THE DOMINIONS OF CHANDRAGUPTA AND ASOKA

No clue to the political history of Maharashtra in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era is now available The Puranas contain lists of kings and dynasties whose chronology has been to some extent determined by their known connection with the successors of Alexander the Great; but traces of their occupation of the south have not yet been found. Chandragupta, who founded the Maurya dynasty in about B C 320, ruled over Northern India as far as Kathiavad, and his grandson Asoka, who reigned from B. C 263 to B. C. 229,

[21] Hall's Vasavadatta, Preface, p 14 [22] Ind Ant Vol VIII, p 243
[23] Ed. of Varahamihira, Preface, p. 20.

retained possession of the province.[1] The rock-inscriptions of the latter, which were evidently planted on the frontiers of his dominions, show that his empire extended to Kalinga or the Northern Circars in the east and Kathivad in the west. He does not seem to have ruled farther south. For in his inscriptions he speaks of his dominions generally as "the conquered countries," while he gives the names of such as did not acknowledge his sovereignty Hence the Rastikas, the Bhojas, the Petenikas, the Cholas, the Pandays, and others were not subject to his power And if he had ruled over Maharashtra or the Dekkan we should have found an inscription of his somewhere.[2]

Vidarbha, a separate Kingdom in the time of the Sungas

But Vidarbha must have existed as a separate kingdom about that time. For in the dramatic play of Malavikagnimitra, the political events narrated in which may be accepted as historical, Agnimitra the son of Pushyamitra, the first king of the Sunga dynasty who reigned in the second and third quarters of the second century before Christ, is represented to have reigned at Vidisa, which I have before identified with Bhilsa, probably as his father's viceroy He had made proposals of marriage with Malavika to her brother Madhavasena, the cousin of Yajnasena, king of Vidarbha Between these cousins there was a quarrel as regards the succession to the throne When Madhavasena was secretly on his way to Vidisa, the general of Yajnasena, posted on the frontier of the kingdom, captured him His counsellor Sumati and Malavika escaped, but Madhavasena was kept in custody Thereupon Agnimitra demanded of Yajnasena the surrender of Madhavasena. Yajnasena promised to give him up on condition that his wife's brother, who was the counsellor of the last Mauyra king and had been imprisoned by Agnimitra or his father Pushyamitra, should be released This enraged Agnimitra, who thereupon sent an army against Yajnasena and vanquished him. Madhavasena was released, and the country of Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins, each ruling over each side of the river Varada

Paithan, the Capital of a Kingdom

Paithan also must have been the capital of a kingdom about the time. In the inscriptions in the caves at Pitalkhora near

[1] See inscription of Rudradaman ; Ind Ant Vol VII, p 260, line 8

[2] Since this was written the discoveries of Campbell and Pandit Bhagvanlal at Supara were announced. It would appear from the fragment of the eighth edict found at the place that Asoka's power extended down the coast up to Supara, but the statement in the text about Maharashtra or Dekkan remains true.

Chalisgamv, which from the forms of the characters in which they are engraved must be referred to the second century before Christ, the religious benefactions of merchants from Pratishthana are recorded, as well as those of the physician to the king and of his son and daughter[3] The king referred to must be the ruler of Pratishthana or Paithan No more particular information is available On the history of the early centuries of the Christian era and the first century previous, however, the inscriptions in the cave-temples on the top the Sahyadri throw a good deal of light I will here bring together the information deducible from them, noticing the inscriptions in the chronological order clearly determined by the forms of the characters

INSCRIPTIONS OF KING KRISHNA AND OTHERS OF THE SATAVAHANA RACE AT NASIK AND NANAGHAT

An inscription[4] in a small cave at Nasik mentions that the cave was scooped out by the lieutenant at Nasik of king Krishna of the Satavahana race In a cave at Nanaghat there is another, which is much mutilated and the purport of which consequently is not quite clear In that same cave figures of persons are carved on the front wall, and the following names are inscribed over them 1, Raya Simuka Satavahano, *i e.*, king Simuka Satavahana, 2, Devi Nayanikaya ranno cha Siri Satakanino, *i e*, of queen Nayanika and king Sri Satakarni, 3, Kumaro Bhaya, *i e*, prince Bhaya, 4, Maharathiganakayiro, *i e*, the heroic Maratha leader or the hero of the Maratha tribe, 5, Kumaro Haku Siri, *i e*, prince Haku Sri, 6, Kumaro Satavahano, i e, prince Satavahana Of these the second who has been mentioned along with his queen must have been the reigning prince, the first was an earlier king of the same dynasty, the fourth was a local Maratha warrior, and the rest were young princes of the Satavahana dynasty

USHAVADATA'S PRINCIPAL INSCRIPTION AT NASIK

In another Nasik cave there are four inscriptions In the first we are told that the cave was caused to be constructed on mount Trirasmi in Govardhana or the Nasik District by the benevolent Ushavadata, the son-in-law of king Kshaharata Nahapana and son of Dinika Ushavadata gave away three hundred thousand cows, constructed flights of steps on the river Barnasaya, assigned sixteen villages to gods and Brahmans,

[3] Inscriptions, pp 39, 41 Arch Surv West Ind, No 10

[4] No 6, Nasik Inscriptions, Vol VII, Jour B B R A, and p 338, Trans Oriental Congress, 1874

fed a hundred thousand Brahmans every year, got eight Brahmans at Prabhasa or Somnath Pattan married at his own expense, constructed quadrangles, houses, and halting places at Bharukachchha or Bharoch, Dasapura in Malva, Govardhana, and Sorparaga, the modern Supara near Bassein, made gardens and sank wells and tanks; placed ferry boats over the Iba, Parada, Damana, Tapi, Karabena, and Dahanuka, which were rivers along the coast between Thana and Surat; constructed rest-houses and endowed places for the distribution of water to travellers on both sides of these rivers; and founded certain benefactions in the village of Nanamgola, for the Charanas and Parishads (Vedic schools of Brahmans) in Pinditakavada, Govardhana, Suvarnamukha, Sorparaga, and Ramatirtha One year in the rainy season he marched at the command of his lord to the relief of the chief of a tribe of Kshatriyas called Uttamabhadras, who had been attacked and besieged by the Malayas At the sound of his martial music the Malayas fled away and they were made the subjects of the Uttamabhadras Thence he went to Poshkarani and there performed ablutions and gave three thousand cows and a village [5]

USHAVADATA'S OTHER INSCRIPTIONS

In the second inscription Ushavadata is spoken of as having, in the year 42, dedicated the cave monastery for the use of the Buddhist mendicant priests coming to it from the four quarters He deposited with a guild of weavers residing in Govardhana a sum of two thousand Karshapanas at an annual interest of one hudred Karshapanas Out of this interest he directed that a garment should annually be given to each of the twenty priests residing during the rains in his cave monastery With another guild he deposited one thousand Karshapanas, the interest on which was seventy-five Karshapanas. Out of this other things (Kusana) were to be provided for the priests The carrying out of these directions was secured by their being declared in the corporation of the town of Govardhana and inscribed on the door of the monastery In the years 41 and 40 he gave away a large sum of money[6] for gods and Brahmans. The third inscription, which is a short one, mentions that the apartment on which it is engraved was the religious benefaction of Ushavadata's wife Dakhamitra[7]. The fourth is greatly mutilated but sufficient remains to show that that also records similar gifts of Ushavadata's [8] In the cave-temple of Karli

[5] No 17. *Ibid* [6] Nos 18 and 16, *Ibid*, which together form one inscription

[7] First part of No 16, *Ibid* [8] No. 1[illegible]

there is an inscription in which Ushavadata is represented to have granted the village of Karjika for the support of the mendicant priests in the cave monastery of Valuraka, as the hill or the country about it seems to have been called at the time.[9] There also is given an account of his charities similar to that in the first of his Nasik inscriptions In an inscription at Junnar, Ayama, the minister of the lord Nahapana the great Kshatrapa, is mentioned as having caused a tank to be dug and a hall to be constructed[10] The minister appears to have been a Brahman, since he is spoken of as belonging to the Vatsa Gotra

INSCRIPTIONS OF GOTAMIPUTRA SATAKARNI AND PULUMAYI AT NASIK

Next in order come the inscriptions in which certain kings of the names of Gotamiputra Satakarni and Pulumayi are mentioned In the longest of the four occurring in the cave-temple at one extremity of the hill at Nasik, we are told that in the nineteenth year of the reign of king Pulumayi, the son of Vasishthi, the cave was caused to be constructed and dedicated for the use of Buddhist mendicants of the Bhadrayaniya sect by Gotami, the mother of king Satakarni Gotamiputra She is there called "the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king ' Gotamiputra is spoken of as king of kings and ruler of Asika, Asmaka, Mulaka,[11] Surashtra, Kukura, Aparanta, Anupa, Vidarbha and Akaravanti[12] He was the lord of the mountains Vindhyavat, Pariyatra, Sahya, Krishnagiri, Malaya, Mahendra, Sreshthagiri, and Chakora His orders were obeyed by a large circle of kings, and his feet were adored by them His beasts of burden drank the waters of the three seas He protected all who sought an asylum with him, and regarded the happiness and misery of his subjects as his own He paid equal attention to the three objects of human pursuit, *viz*, duty, worldly prosperity, and the satisfaction of desires, appointing certain times and places for each He was the abode of learning, the support of good men, the home of glory, the source of good manners, the only person of skill, the only archer, the only hero, the only protector of

[9] No 13, Karli Inscriptions—Arch Surv, W Ind No 10

[10] No 25, Junnar Inscriptions, *Ibid*

[11] Asmaka and Maulika are mentioned among the southern countries in the Puranas

[12] Surashtra is Southern Kathiavad, Kukura, a portion of Rajputana, and Aparanta, Northern Konkan Anupa is mentioned in the Puranas as a country situated in the vicinity of the Vindhyas It was the country on the upper Narmada with Mahishmati for its capital, according to the Raghuvamsa Akaravanti must be the eastern portion of Malva

Brahmans. He conferred upon Brahmans the means of increasing their race, and stemmed the progress of the confusion of castes. His exploits rivalled those of Rama, Kesava, Arjuna, and Bhimasena, and his prowess was equal to that of Nabhaga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayati, Rama, and Ambarisha He was descended from a long line of kings. He vanquished the host of his enemies in innumerable battles, quelled the boast and pride of Kshatriyas, destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas, and Palhavas, left no trace or remnant of the race of Khagarata, and re-established the glory of the Satavahana family In the last line of the inscription mention is made of the grant of a village for the support of the establishment in the cave-temple [13]

Charter of Pulumayi

In a later inscription engraved in smaller characters below this, Vasishthiputra Sri Pulumayi, the lord of Navanara, issues orders to his lieutenant in Govardhana, Sarvakshadalana He calls his attention to the fact that the village granted by the "lord of Dhanakata"[14] (Gotamiputra) in accordance with the above, was not liked by the Bhadrayaniyas, and therefore assigns another to them by this charter

Chartfr of Gotamiputra

On the wall to the left of the verandah of the cave is another inscription It purports to be an order or notice issued from the camp of the victorious army of Govardhana, by Gotamiputra Satakarni, lord of Dhanakataka, to Vishnupalita, his lieutenant in Govardhana, informing him that the king has granted a field measuring 200 Nivartanas, which was up to that time in the possession of one Ushabhadata, for the benefit of

[13] Inscription No 26, *Ibid*

[14] Pandit Bhagvanlal and Buhler, whose transcripts and translations of the Nasik inscriptions have just appeared, read the expression thus understood by me as धनकटसमनोहि for the Sanskrit धनकटश्रमणैः. But what the Sramanas or Buddhist priests of Dhanakata, which was situated hundreds of miles away *on the lower Krishna, could have to do with* the matter of the granting of a village near Nasik to the Bhadrayaniya mendicants of the place it is impossible to conceive The expression must, I think, be taken as धनकटसामिनेहि for the Sanskrit धनकटस्वामिभिः or धनकट-सामियोहि corresponding to महासामियेहि in the first part of No 25, the Sanskrit of which is महास्वामिकैः The form सामिनेहि must have come into use on the analogy of such forms as अत्तनेहि for आत्मभिः and राजानेहि for राजभिः

recluses The charter here engraved is represented to have been originally issued in the year 18, that is, in the year preceding that in which the cave-temple was completed and dedicated Below this is inscribed another charter issued in the form of an order to Śramaka, the governor of Govardhana, by the queen of Gotamiputra of a field granted before, probably the one conveyed by the above charter, and says that it measures one hundred Nivartanas, and she assigns another hundred by this charter out of a field belonging to the crown which was her patrimony It appears that two hundred Nivartanas were granted by the first charter, but probably it turned out that the field measured one hundred only, hence she now makes it up by granting another hundred out of another field The date of this grant is 24, *i e*, it was made six years after the first [15]

PRIVATE INSCRIPTIONS CONTAINING PULUMAYI'S NAME

Besides these, there are two inscriptions at Nasik recording the benefactions of private individuals, dated in the second and seventh[16] years of the reign of Siri (Śri) Pulumayi, and two in the cave at Karli,[17] dated in the seventh and twenty-fourth years of his reign

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE KINGS AND QUEENS MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS IN GOMATI'S CAVE

Since Gotami is spoken of as the mother of a king and the grandmother of a king, and the wife of her son Gotamiputra Satakarni is represented as the mother of a king, and since the only other king besides Satakarni mentioned in those inscriptions is Pulumayi, it appears that this last was the grandson and son respectively of these two ladies. He was therefore the son and his mother Vasishthi the wife of Gotamiputra Satakarni Satakarni issued the charter contained in the second inscription in the year 18, which must be the eighteenth year of Pulumayi's reign, since dates referring to his reign only are found at Nasik and Karli and not to that of Gotamiputra Even the date of the large inscription noticed above in which Gotamiputra's great deeds are recorded is referred to Pulumayi's reign And the grant of the village alluded to in that inscription and the one below appears to have been made by Gotamiputra, since he is spoken of as "the lord of Dhanakataka," though the portion of the rock containing the words that would have rendered the sense clear has been cut away Gotami is spoken of as dedicating the cave in the present tense, wherefore

[15] No 25, *Ibid* [16] Nos 3 and 27, *Ibid*
[17] Nos 14 and 20, Arch Surv West Ind, No 10.

it must be understood she was alive at the time The father and the son appear thus to have reigned at the same time, the son on this side of the country since the inscriptions are dated in his reign, and the father at Dhanakataka, which has been identified with Dharanikot in the Gantur district of the Madras Presidency And this is confirmed by the fact, mentioned above, of Gotami's having been called the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king This statement would be pointless if she were not both at one and the same time.[18] Since the charter of the year 24, intended as supplementary to that of 18, was issued by Vasishthi, while the first was issued by her husband, it appears probable that Gotamiputra had died in the interval and Vasishthi reigned as regent at the capital, while Pulumayi continued to govern the Dekkan or Maharashtra. The years given in the charter must be those of Pulumayi, since even the large inscription is dated in the nineteenth year of his reign These kings belonged to the Satavahana dynasty

MADHARIPUTRA AND YAJNA SRI

The names of two other kings, apparently of the same dynasty, are found in other inscriptions In one of the caves at Kanheri near Thana, a grant is recorded in the eighth year of the reign of Madhariputra Sakasena [19] In two other inscriptions at the same place the name of the reigning prince is given as Gotami-

[18] Buhler (Arch Surv of West Ind, Vol IV, p 110,) supposes me to have rested my conclusion as regards this point on this statement alone, and calls it a mistake But he will find my other reasons also stated in the remarks at the end of my article in the Transactions of the Oriental Congress of 1874 And even this statement has a very high corroborative value For, if the object of the writer was to represent Gotami's "special claim" to honour, that is better served by supposing that her son and grandson were great kings at one and the same time If the son was dead, no object is gained as regards this point by saying she was the mother of that son, that is not gained by saying she was the grandmother of a *living* great king And if it was a fact that Gotamiputra was dead when the cave-temple was dedicated and Pulumayi alone was reigning, we should expect to find the exploits of the latter also celebrated in the inscription, but there is not a word in praise of him If Pulumayi became king only after Gotamiputra, the latter must have died nineteen years before the dedication of the temple, and it certainly is not what one acquainted with the manner and motive of Hindu inscription-writers would expect that a king who had been dead for nineteen years should be highly extolled in the inscription and the reigning king altogether passed over in silence

[19] No 19, Jour B B R A. S., Vol VI, and Vol XII, p 409 In the first copy the name is clearly Sakasenasa, but in the second, which is Pandit Bhagvanlal's rubbing, something like an effeced mark for the vowel i appears above the first two consonants The Pandit, therefore, reads the name as Siri Senasa for Sri Senasya, but the *k* is distinct even in his copy *Siki* cannot mean anything, wherefore it appears that the

puta Siri Yanna Satakani (Gotamiputra Sri Yajna Satakarni).[20] In one of these the year that is given is not legible, but still appears to be the eighteenth of his reign. There is one inscription at Nasik which is dated in the seventh year of that king.[21]

NAMES OF PRINCES ON THE COINS FOUND AT KOLHAPUR

A large number of coins of copper and lead were discovered a few years ago, buried in what appears to have once been a Buddhist stupa at Kolhapur. Another hoard had been found some time previous in about the same locality. The legends on those coins are in characters the forms of which greatly resemble those in the cave inscriptions above noticed. They are are follows:[22]

Ranno Vasithiputasa Vilivayakurasa
Ranno Gotamiputasa Vilivayakurasa.
Ranno Madhariputasa Sevalakurasa

Hence we have the same names as before, but the words Vilivayakurasa and Sevalakurasa have not yet been interpreted by any student of Indian antiquities. On a former occasion I put forth a conjecture that they were the names of the viceroys of those kings appointed to govern the country about Kolhapur.[23] For, coins of two of these princes and of a few others belonging to the same dynasty are found near Dharanikot in the Gantur district about the site of Dhanakataka, the old capital. The legends on these do not contain those words, and the coins are of a different type from those found at Kolhapur. These last, therefore, it appeared to me, were struck on this side of the country, and consequently bore the names of the viceroys under whose authority they were issued. The truth of this conjecture I will demonstrate further on.

Thus then, from these inscriptions and coins we arrive at the names of the following kings arranged in the chronological order indicated by the forms of the characters used:

Krishnaraja
Satakarni
Kshaharata Nahapana and his son-in-law Ushavadata
Gotamiputra Satakarni

indistinct marks which do not occur in the first copy are due to some flaw in the rock, and do not represent the vowel *i*. Dr Bhau Daji also read the name as Sakasenasa.

[20] Nos 4 and 44, Jour. B B R A S, Vol VI.

[21] No 4, Jour. B B R A S, Vol VII and Trans Or Congr, 1874, p 339.

[22] Jour B B R A S, Vol XIII, p 305, and Vol XIV, p 153-54.

[23] Jour B B R A S Vol XIV, p 154.

Vasishthiputra Pulumayi.
Gotamiputra Sri Yajna Satakarni
Madhariputra Sakasena.

Besides these, we have the name of Simuka Satavahana, a king that reigned earlier than the second in the above list. We shall hereafter assign to him his proper place in the list

SECTION V

Indian and Foreign Princes mentioned in the Inscriptions Identification of the former with the Andhrabhrityas of the Puranas

The first thing that will strike one on looking at the list given at the end of the last section, is that the name Kshaharata Nahapana is not Indian but foreign. The title Kshatrapa or Mahakshatrapa also used in the case of that king, is not Indian, though it is the Sanskritized form of a foreign one, very likely the Persian *Satrap* From the statement in the inscription of Gotamiputra that he destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas and Palhavas, it appears that the country was at that time very much exposed to the inroads of these foreigners Yavanas were the Bactrian Greeks, but Kshaharata Nahapana does not look a Greek name He must, therefore, have been either a Saka or Palhava Again, we are told, that Gotamiputra left no remnant of the race of Khagarata or Khakharata which name seems to be the same as Kshaharata or Khaharata as it is spelled in the Karli and Junnar inscriptions It follows, therefore, that the Sakas or Palhavas made themselves masters of the country some time between the second king in the above list and Gotamiputra Satakarni, and that they were driven out by Gotamiputra who, by thus recovering the provinces lost to his dynasty, re-established, as stated in the inscription, the glory of the Satavahana race to which he belonged All the other kings named above belonged to that dynasty

Puranic Dynasties

Now, in the Puranas we have lists of kings and dynasties that ruled over the country The earliest dynasty with which we are here concerned is the Maurya founded by Chandragupta in B. C 320 as determined by his relations with Seleucus, one of the generals and successors of Alexander the Great It ruled over Northern India for 137 years according to the Puranas, and the last king Brihadratha was murdered by his general Pushymitra or Pushpamitra, who founded the Sunga dynasty. This was in power for 112 years and was succeeded by the Kanva family which ruled for forty-five years The Kanvas

were overthrown by Sipraka, Sindhuka, or Sisuka, as he is variously named, who founded what the Puranas call the dynasty of the Andhrabhrityas, that is, Andhras who were once servants or dependents. The second king of this dynasty was Krishna according to all, the third was Satakarni or Srisatakarni according to the Vayu or Vishnu, while the Bhagavata corrupts the name slightly to Santakarna. The Matsya interposes three more kings between Krishna and Satakarni, while the Vishnu has another Satakarni to correspond with that of the Matsya Gotamiputra is the thirteenth prince according to the Vayu, fifteenth according to the Bhagavata, seventeenth according to the Vishnu, and twenty-second according to the Matsya Pulimat, Purimat, or Pulomat was his successor according to the Vishnu, the Bhagavata, or the Matsya These are so many mislections for the Pulumayi of our inscriptions and coins. The Vayu omits his name altogether His successor was Siva Sri according to the Vishnu and the Matsya, while the Bhagavata calls him Vedasiras, and the Vayu does not notice him Yajna Sri occurs in all, being placed after Sivaskandha, the successor of Siva Sri by all except the Vayu, which assigns to him the next place after Gotamiputra

THE SATAVAHANAS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS SAME AS THE ANDHRABHRITYAS OF THE PURANAS

Thus then, the names occurring in the inscriptions and on the coins as well as the order sufficiently agree with those given in the Puranas under the Andhrabhritya dynasty to justify us in believing that the kings mentioned in both are the same The name Madhariputra Sakasena does not occur in the Puranas, and he appears to have belonged to a branch of the dynasty. We shall hereafter assign to him his place in the list Simuka, whose name occurs in the Nanaghat inscription, and who, as I have already observed, was an earlier occupant of the throne than the reigning prince Satakarni, the third in the Puranic list, must be the same as Sisuka, the founder of the dynasty For the Devanagari *ma* is often so carelessly written as to look like *sa*, hence the true Simuka was corrupted to Sisuka, S'isuka, or S'is'uka, in the course of time. The Sindhuka of the Vayu and the Sipraka of the Vishnu are further corruptions This identification is rendered probable also by the consideration that he who caused the cave to be constructed, and the status of himself and the younger princes to be carved, might, to give dignity to his race, be expected to get the founder of the dynasty also represented there, especially as he was removed only one degree from him In this manner, the Andhrabhritya

dynasty of the Puranas is the same as the Satavahana dynasty of the inscriptions.

SECTION VI

Chronology of the Andhrabhrityas or Satavahanas
The Dynasty of Nahapana not the same as that of the Satraps of Ujjayini and Kathiavad

The next question we have to consider is as regards the dates of these princes. In my paper on the Nasik cave inscriptions,[1] I have accepted A. D. 319 as the date of Gotamiputra's accession, arrived at by taking B. C. 315 as the year in which Chandragupta founded the dynasty of the Mauryas at Pataliputra, and 664 years to have elapsed between him and Gotamiputra, since the periods assigned in the Puranas to that dynasty and the subsequent ones, and the durations of the reigns of the Andhrabhritya princes who preceded Gotamiputra according to the Matsya, when added, give 664. The "race of Khagarata," which Gotamiputra is, as observed before, represented in one of the Nasik inscriptions to have exterminated, I identified with the dynasty of the Kshatrapas whose coins are found in Kathiavad, as well as a few inscriptions, since Kshaharata or Khagarata was also a Kshatrapa and had been placed at the head of the dynasty by previous writers The latest date on the coins of those princes then known was 250, which referred to the Saka era, is A D 328 This comes so close to Gotamiputra's A D 319, that the two seemed to corroborate each other But there are several objections to this view, some of which occurred to me even then (1)—The inscriptions and coins of the Kshatrapa dynasty concur in carrying the genealogy backward to Chashtana and no further, and as yet nothing has turned up to show that any connection existed between him and Nahapana (2)—If the Kshatrapa or Satrap dynasty held sway over Maharashtra for about three hundred years as it did over Kathiavad, we might reasonably expect to find in that country inscriptions or coins of most of the princes, but a few coins of the later ones only have been discovered in a village near Karadh[2] and no inscription whatever (3)—Rudradaman in his Junagad inscription calls a Satakarni, 'lord of Dakshinapatha', which he would not have done if he had been the ruler of even a part of the Dekkan. (4)—And the dates occurring on some Satrap coins recently discovered are said to be 300 and 304[3] which referred to the Saka are A. D. 378 and 382,

[1] Trans Or Congr , 1874 [2] Jour B. B R A S , Vol p 16
[3] Ind Ant , Vol VI, p 57, Note, and Cunningham's Arch. Report, Vol X , p 127.

that is, the Satraps were in power even long after A. D. 340, which is the date of Gotamiputra's death according to the Puranic accounts For these reasons it would appear that the "race" of Khagarata or Nahapana which Gotamiputra put an end to and which ruled over this country before him, could not have been the dynasty of the Satraps (5)—Besides, according to my former view, the interval between Nahapana and Gotamiputra is about 200 years, but the difference in form between the characters in Ushavadata's and Gotamiputra's inscriptions is not great enough for that period Hence the two princes must be brought closer together

PTOLEMY'S SIRO POLEMIOS THE SAME AS SIRI PULUMAYI AND HIS BALEOCUROS THE SAME AS VILIVAYAKURA

From the Greek geographer Ptolemy we learn that in his time the country inland from the western coast was divided into two divisions, of which the northern was governed by Siro Polemois whose capital was Paithan, and the southern by Baleocuros who lived in Hippocura Siro Polemios is evidently the same name as the Siri Pulumavi or Pulumayi of the inscriptions corresponding to the Pulomat, or Pulimat of the Puranas But there were two kings who bore that name, one the son of Gotamiputra, mentioned in the inscriptions, and another an earlier prince of the Andhrabhritya dynasty This last does not appear to have been a prince of any note, wherefore very likely the former is the one spoken of by Ptolemy But the question is almost settled by the mention of Baleocuros as the governor of the southern provinces We have seen that in the legends on the Kolhapur coins the name Vilivayakura is associated with that of Pulumayi and of Gotamiputra Vilivayakura is the same as Baleocura, and I have already stated that the reason why his name, in my opinion, occurs along with those of the two princes of the Satavahana dynasty, and on Kolhapur coins alone while it does not occur on those found in the lower Godavari districts, is that he was the viceroy of those princes ruling over the country about Kolhapur This country answers to the southern division mentioned by the Greek geographer as being governed by Baleocuros The Siro Polemios therefore of Ptolemy is the same as the Pulumayi of the inscriptions and coins

PULUMAYI BEGAN TO REIGN ABOUT 130 A D

Ptolemy died in A D 163, and is said to have written his work after A D 151 Pulumayi, therefore, must have been on the

throne some time before this last date. We will now proceed to reconcile this date with those mentioned in the inscriptions, and to determine more particularly the date of Pulumayi's accession. Some of Ushavadata's benefactions were founded in the years 40, 41, and 42, and the latest date connected with Nahapana is that in the inscription of his minister Ayama at Junnar, *viz*, 46 These dates should, I think, be referred to the Saka era For, we have seen that before the time of Gotamiputra, the country was subject to the inroads of Sakas and other foreign tribes, and the Scythians who are identified with the Sakas had, according to the Greek geographers, established a kingdom in Sind and even in Rajputana The era known by the name of the Saka and referred to in all the early copper-plate grants as the era of the Saka king or kings must have been established by the most powerful of the Saka invaders,[4] who for the first time obtained a permanent footing in the country, and Nahapana and Chashtana[5] or his father must have been his Satraps appointed to rule over Western India, and Malava On this supposition the latest date of Nahapana must correspond to A D 124 Gotamiputra or Pulumayi there-

[4] Oldenberg thinks Kanishka to be the founder of the era; but this view is, I think, untenable (1)—A dynasty of three kings only cannot perpetuate an era The dynasty of the Guptas composed of seven kings was in power for more than a hundred and fifty years, but their era died a natural death in the course of a few centuries (2)—The characters in Kanishka's inscriptions, especially the *ya* as conjoined with a preceding consonant, are later than those we find in the first century (3)—There is no ground to belief that Kanishka reigned over Gujarat and Maharashtra, but the Saka era began to be used very early, especially in the last country (4)—The Guptas whose gold coinage is a close imitation of that of the Indo Scythian dynasty, came to power in A D 319 while the last of the three kings Kanishka, Hushka, and Vasudeva must, if the reign of the first began in A D 78, have ceased to reign about A D 178, *i e* about 100 years after the foundation of the dynasty And the latest date of Vasudeva is 89 If so, an interval of 140 years must have elapsed between the last of the Indo-Scythian kings and the first Gupta, but the close resemblance in the coinage necessitates the supposition that it was much shorter Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta era was 241 Saka, *i e* 319 A D, has been pronounced unreliable by some antiquarians As to this point and the era of the Satrap dates, see Appendix A

[5] Oldenberg considers Chashtana to be a Satrap appointed by Gotamiputra, a supposition which is unwarrantable, since a prince like Gotamiputra whose aim was to expel and destroy foreigners cannot be expected to appoint a foreigner, as Chashtana's name indicates he was, to be a viceroy, and to use a foreign title, and we have seen that Baleocuros, who was a viceroy of that monarch or of his son, does not use that title Rudradaman, the grandson of Chashtana, appointed, as we see from his Junagad inscription, a Palhava of the name of Suvisakha, who was the son of Kulaipa, to govern Surashtra and Anarta This circumstance confirms what we gather from other sources, namely, that this was a dynasty of princes of a foreign origin, who had adopted Hindu manners and even names and were domiciled in the country

fore must have acquired possession of this country after that year. The earliest date of Pulumayi occurring in the inscriptions is the second year of his reign, and since the inscription could not have borne that date if Nahapana or his successor had been in power, it is clear that Pulumayi began to reign after the overthrow of the latter Now, we also learn from Ptolemy that Tiastenes reigned at Ozene about the time when he wrote, and was therefore a contemporary of Pulumayi. Tiastenes has, I think, been reasonably identified with Chashtana But according to the Junagad inscription noticed above, Chashtana's grandson Rudradaman was the reigning prince in the year 72, which, taking the era to be the Saka, is 150 A D Chashtana and Pulumayi therefore could not have been contemporaries in 150 A D Ptolemy's account must, in consequence, refer to a period much earlier, *i e* to about the year 132 A D., since about eighteen or twenty years at least must be supposed to have elapsed between the date of his information when Chashtana was on the throne and the year 150 A D when his grandson was in possession of it, his son Jayadaman having occupied it for some time in the interval Again, in the nineteenth year of Pulumayi, Gotamiputra was in possession, according to the large inscription at Nasik, of a good many of those provinces which, according to the Junagad inscription, were conquered and ruled over by Rudradaman The date 72 in the inscription seems to refer to the sweeping away by a storm and excessive rain of the dyke on one side of the lake therein mentioned and not to the cutting of the inscription on the rock So that it is doubtful whether Rudradaman had conquered those provinces before 72 or did so after 72 and before the incision of the inscription Supposing he conquered them before 72, the nineteenth year of Pulumayi must correspond at least to the second or third year before A D 150, that is, Pulumayi must have begun to reign, at the latest, about the year A D 130 And his accession cannot be placed much later, for the interval between Chashtana who was Pulumayi's contemporary and his grandson Rudradaman who was reigning in 150 A. D will be considerably shortened Nahapana or his successor must thus have been overthrown by Gotamiputra or Pulumayi about five or six years at the most after his latest recorded date, *viz* A D 124

Relations of Gotamiputra and Pulumayi with Nahapana, Chashtana and Rudradaman

The history of the relations of these princes appears to be this Nahapana was a Satrap ruling over Maharashtra His capital

was probably Junnar since the inscriptions at the place show the town to have been in a flourishing condition about that time, and we have a record there of the gift of his minister. He must have died soon after 46 Saka or A. D. 124. Gotamiputra and Pulumayi came from the south-east to regain the provinces lost to their family, overthrew Nahapana's successor, whoever he was, killed all his heirs, and re-established their power over this side of the country. This appears to be what is meant by Gotamiputra's having been represented in the Nasik inscription to have "left no remnant of the race of Khagarat," and to have "regained the prestige of his family." Chashtana founded or belonged to another dynasty of Satraps which reigned at Ujjayini. In the Junagad inscription, men of all castes are represented to have gone to Rudradaman and chosen him their lord for their protection,[6] and he is spoken of as having re-established the kingdom that had been lost,[7] himself assumed the title of the Great Kshatrapa, conquered Akaravanti, Anupa, Surashtra, Aparanta and other provinces which, as we have seen, were owned by Gotamiputra, and some more, and as having twice subdued Satakarni, the lord of Dakshinapatha, but still not destroyed him in consequence of the remoteness[8]

[6] The expression is सर्ववर्णैरभिगम्य रक्षणार्थं पतित्वे वृतेन Ind Ant, Vol VII, p 260, l 9

[7] In Pandit Bhagvanlal's transcript in Vol VII, Ind Ant, the reading is भ्रष्टराजप्रतिष्ठापकेन But in a foot note Buhler says that the correct reading may be राज्य for राज, In Dr Bhau Daji's copy of the inscription the ज्य is distinct, p 118, Vol VII, Jour B B R A S Bhau Daji and Pandit Bhagvanlal translate this expression by "obtained glory of great exploits by the re establishment of *deposed kings*," (p 20, Vol VII, Jour B B R A S), and "he who has restored to their thrones *deposed kings*," (p 260 *a*, Vol VII, Ind Ant) If राजा were the reading, this translation would of course be correct, but with राज्य it is far-fetched There is nothing here to show that the lost *rajya* or kingdom re established by Rudradaman was any other person's than his own So that, it looks natural to understand him to have re-established (his own) lost kingdom

[8] The reading is संबंधावदूरया. It is allowable to insert त and take it as संबंधावदूरतया. But unless अवदूर is altogether unintelligible, we are not authorized in taking it as आविदूर and giving it quite the opposite signification, as the translators of the inscription have done, and in basing a historical inference on this precarious translation, as Oldenberg has done. The composer of this inscription seems to have used the preposition अव for वि as in अवजित्य for विजित्य 'having conquered," which occurs in this line, so that अवदूर is the same as विदूर and means "far away," "distant," and the sense also is good. For, Satakarni's dominions

of the connection. The meaning of all this appears to me to be this Gotamiputra Satakarni, after having destroyed Nahapana or his successor, turned his arms against another dynasty of foreigners that was ruling at Ujjayini Or the Kshatrapa sovereign of Ujjayini, Chashtana, or very probably his son Jayadaman, having observed the growing power of Gotamiputra or Pulumayi who had put an end to a kindred family of rulers, and desirous of preventing his further growth, must have attacked him A fact such as this must be the basis of the popular stories about a king of Ujjayini having attacked Salivahana at Paithan and been defeated by him. Salivahana is but another mode of pronouncing Satavahana ,[9] and Pulumayi or Gotamiputra was a Satavahana The ruler of Ujjayini was defeated and pursued by the victorious Gotamiputra into his own dominions, when the latter subjugated Avanti, Anupa, and Surashtra, and dethroned Jayadaman For a time he held sway over the territories owned by Chashtana, but subsequently Rudradaman collected a band of followers, the same as those that are represented in the inscription as having chosen him their lord, and drove away Gotamiputra Having regained his kingdom and got himself crowned as Mahakshatrapa, he entered on a career of conquest and wrested from Gotamiputra some of the provinces owned by him Thus the lord of Dakshinapatha that he conquered was Gotamiputra Satakarni , but he was not able to pursue his enemy into the heart of his country in consequence of its remoteness, as represented in the inscription, or because he was not powerful enough to do so The rise of Rudradaman and his conquest took place after the nineteenth year of Pulumayi's reign, that is, after about A D 149 It is in this way alone that the scraps of information derived from the Greek writers and gathered from inscriptions, coins, and popular legends, as well as the dates, can be made to harmonize with each other

DATES OF THE ANDHRABHRITYAS AS DETERMINED FROM THE PURANIC ACCOUNTS

But the date thus assigned to Gotamiputra is not consistent with that derived from the Matsya Purana Our next endeavour, therefore, should be to ascertain whether none of the Puranas agrees sufficiently with the conclusion arrived at, if any does, to account for the great discrepancy between it and the Matsya

being far away or distant from his, Rudradaman did not care whether he remained king or was uprooted

[9] Hemchandra's Prakrit Grammar

and others. That there is very little agreement among them as regards the Andhrabhritya dynasty, I have already indicated above. The genesis of our Puranic literature seems to be this. Certain versified accounts of certain things purporting to be narrated by a bard to Rishis assembled together at a sacrificial session were handed down orally from generation and these were after some time committed to writing. The later Puranas, devoted to the exaltation of a particular deity and to the inculcation of certain doctrines, derived their accounts of these things from the earliest written Puranas and not from the oral tradition Of the works of this class which I am going to compare for our present purpose, the oldest appears to me to be the Vayu, and next to it the Matsya The Vishnu is later, and the Bhagavata, the latest The text of the old Puranas gradually became corrupt, and the authors of the later ones were in some cases misled by their incorrect readings into putting forth statements at variance with the original account Now the four Puranas just mentioned contain general statements about the several dynasties, giving the number of princes belonging to each and its duration in years, and also mention the names of those princes more particularly, while the Vayu and the Matsya give in addition the number of years for which each reigned

Duration of the Maurya Dynasty

Often there is a discrepancy between the general and the particular statements The duration assigned by them all to the Maurya dynasty, founded by Chandragupta whose date as determined by his relations with the successors of Alexander the Great is justly characterised by MaxMuller as the sheet-anchor of Indian chronology, is 137 years The number of reigning princes given by the Vayu is nine, and by the rest, ten, but the names actually enumerated in the Vishnu only are ten, while the Vayu and the Bhagavata give nine, and the Matsya, only four The total of the years assigned to each prince by the Vayu is 133 years, so that it is not unlikely that a short reign of four years may have dropped out from the text of that Purana Thus the general statement about ten princes and 137 years seems to be corroborated, and it appears pretty clear that the text of the Matsya has in this case undergone a good deal of corruption Thus, if with Kern we take B. C. 322 as the date of the foundation of the Maurya dynasty, its overthrow and the foundation of the next or the Sunga family must have occurred in the year B. C. 185

OF THE SUNGAS

The Sungas are generally stated in all the Puranas to have been ten and to have reigned for 112 years, though the expression used in the Bhagavata is not "112 years," but "more than a hundred years" In the actual enumeration, the Matsya omits two, and the Bhagavata, one , and the total of the years assigned to each prince in the Vayu exceeds 112 There is evidently some mistake here , but if we take the general statement to be the correct tradition handed down, the dynasty became extinct in B C 73

OF THE KANVAS

The dynasty next mentioned is that of the Kanvas or Kanvayanas There were four princes of this line and they reigned for forty-five years, though the Bhagavata, through a mistake to be explained hereafter, makes the period to be 345 years They were followed by the Andhrabhrityas But here, there is a statement in the Vayu and the Matsya, the like of which does not occur in the account of the other dynasties The founder of the Andhrabhrityas, Sindhuka, according to the first Purana, and Sisuka, according to the other, is said to have uprooted not only the Kanvas, but "whatever was left of the power of the Sungas"[10] And the Kanvas are pointedly spoken of as Sungabhrityas or "servants of the Sungas"[11] It therefore appears likely that when the princes of the Sunga family became weak, the Kanvas usurped the whole power and ruled like the Peshwas in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of their masters but reducing them to the character of nominal sovereigns , and this supposition is strengthened by the fact that like the Peshwas they were Brahmans and not Kshatriyas Thus then, these dynasties reigned contemporaneously, and hence the 112 years that tradition assigns to the Sungas include the 45 assigned to the Kanvas.

OF THE ANDHRABHRITYAS

The Sungas and the Kanvas therefore were uprooted, and the family of the Andhrabhrityas came to power in B C. 73 In a

[10] कान्वायनस्त [नं त] तो भृत्यः सुशर्माणं प्रसह्य तम् । शुङ्गानां चैव यच्छेषं क्षपयित्वा बलं तदा ॥ सिन्धुको ह्यन्ध्रजातीयः प्राप्स्यतीमां वसुंधराम् ॥ Vayu
"A servant of the race of the Andhras having destroyed Susarman of the Kanva family with main force and whatever will have been left of the power of the Sungas, will obtain possession of the earth." The statement in the Matsya is similar

[11] चत्वारः शुङ्गभृत्यास्ते नृपा कान्वायना द्विजाः । Vayu

general way, the number of princes belonging to this line is given as thirty in the Vayu, the Vishnu, and the Bhagavata, and twenty-nine in the Matsya ; and the total duration is stated to be 411 years in the first, 456 in the second and the third,

Vayu.		Matsya.		Vishnu.	Bhagavata.
Names.	Duration of reign in years	Names.	Duration of reign in years.	Names.	Names.
Sindhuka..	23	Sisuka ..	23	Sipraka ..	Name not given; but mentioned as a Vrishala or Sudra.
Krishna .	10	Krishna ..	18	Krishna ..	Krishna.
		Mallakarni	10 or 18	Sri Satakarni.	Santakarna.
		Purnotsanga	18	Purnotsanga.	Paurnamasa.
		Skandhastambhi.	18		
Satakarni	56	Satakarni .	56	Satakarni	
		Lambodara .	18	Lambodara..	Lambodara.
Apilava	12	Apitaka .	12	Ivilaka .	Hivilaka.
		Meghasvati .	18	Meghasvati.	Meghasvati.
		Svati .	18		
		Skandasvati ..	7		
		Mrigendrasvati karna.	3		
		Kuntalasvati .	8		
		Svatikarna .	1		
Patimavi	24	Pulomavi ..	36	Patumat ..	Atmana.
Nemi-krishna	25	Gaurakrishna or Naurikrishna.	25	Arishtakarman.	Anishtakarman Haleya.
Hala .	1	Hala .	5	Hala ..	
Saptaka or Mandalaka	5	Mandulaka	5	Pattalaka ..	Talaka.
Purikashena	21	Purindrasena	5	Pravillasena.	Purishabhiru.
Satakarni	1	Sundara Svatikarna.	1	Sundara ..	Sunandana.
Chakora Satakarni.	½	Chakora Svatikarna.	½	Chakora ..	Chakora.
Sivasvati	28	Sivasvati ..	28	Sivasvati ..	Sivasvati.
Gautamiputra	21	Gautamiputra	21	Gomatiputra.	Gomatiputra.
		Pulomat ..	28	Pulimat ..	Puriman (mat).
		Sivasri ..	7	Sivasri ...	Medasiras.
		Sivaskanda .	7	Sivaskandha.	Sivaskanda.
Yajnasri Satakarni.	29	Yajnasri Satakarni.	29, 9 or 20	Yajnasri ...	Yajnasri.
Vijaya ..	6	Vijaya .	6	Vijaya ...	Vijaya.
Dandasri Satakarni.	3	Chandasri Satakarni.	10	Chandrasri ...	Chandravijna.
Pulomavi	7	Pulomavit ...	7	Pulomarchis.	Sulomadhi.

and 460 in the fourth. The disagreement here is not great, wherefore the tradition as to thirty princes and about 456 years may be accepted as correct But the discrepancy between this general statement and the more particular accounts that follow, as well as the disagreement between the several Puranas in this last, is very great. This will be apparent from the table on page 41.

Thus, the Vayu has seventeen princes and 272 years and a half; and the Matsya, thirty and 448 and a half The Vishnu gives twenty-four names and the Bhagavata, twenty-two. This last Purana has in many cases corrupted the names and confounded Hala with the Arishtakarman of the Vishnu, whom it names Anishtakarman Haleya It also omits the fifth prince of the Vishnu Purana The details given in the Matsya come very close to the general tradition and thus confirm it Should we then attribute the very great discrepancy between these details and those of the Vayu to the corruption of the text of the latter? Two or three names might drop away in this manner, but the omission of thirteen names and the reduction of the total duration by 176 years must I think be accounted for in some other way.

TWO TRADITIONS ABOUT THE DURATION OF THE ANDHRABHRITYA DYNASTY—456 AND 300 YEARS

Besides the tradition about 456 years, there is a statement in the Vayu Purana, in a verse below, to the effect that "the Andhras will have possession of the earth for three hundred years,"[12] which seems to point to another. That such a tradition existed is indicated by the mistake in the Bhagavata by which the Kanvas are assigned three hundred and forty-five years. The original account, which the author of this Purana must have seen, probably assigned forty-five years to the Kanvas and three hundred to the next or Andhrabhritya dynasty. But since that dynasty was also assigned another duration, *viz* 456 years, he connected the "the three hundred" with the preceding, and gave 345 years to the Kanvayana family. Now, the manner in which the two traditions are to be reconciled is by supposing that the longer period is made up by putting together the reigns of all the princes belonging to the several branches of the Andhrabhritya dynasty That the younger princes often reigned at Paithan and the elderly ones at Dhanakataka appears clear when we compare the inscriptions

[12] अन्ध्रा भोक्षयन्ति वसुधां शते द्वे च शतं च वै। Vayu.

with the statement in Ptolemy. When the throne at the principal seat became vacant, the Paithan princes succeeded. But some probably died before their elders and never became kings of Dhanakataka. From an inscription found at Banavasi by Burgess it would appear that another branch of that dynasty ruled over Kanara.

THE LOWER PERIOD REFERS TO THE MAIN BRANCH OF THE FAMILY

The period of three hundred years and the seventeen names given in the Vayu Purana refer probably to the main branch. The Matsya seems to me to put together the princes of all the branches and thus makes them out to be thirty. The total of the years assigned to the several reigns in the Vayu is 272½, and if we should suppose one or two reigns lasting for about twenty-eight years to have dropped out by the corruption of the text, it would become 300½. Thus then the Vayu and the Matsya Puranas each give a correct account, but of different things. The Vishnu, which gives twenty-four princes, is not entitled to so much credit as the Vayu It is a later work and the author's purpose being sectarian, he probably did not care so much for the accuracy of his details, and hence omitted even the duration of each reign. The Bhagavata is still more careless, as has already been shown

DATE OF THE ACCESSION AND DEATH OF GOTAMIPUTRA

If then we take the account in the Vayu Purana to refer to the main branch of the dynasty and consequently generally correct, the period that intervened between the rise of the Satavahanas or Andhrabhrityas and the end of the reign of Sivasvati is 206 years[13] The dynasty must, as we have seen, have been founded in B C 73, wherefore the end of Sivasvati's reign and the accession of Gotamiputra must be placed in A D. 133. We have seen that Pulumayi, whose capital was Paithan according to Ptolemy and who from the inscriptions appears to have been king of this part of the country and to have reigned contemporaneously with his father, must have begun to reign at Paithan about 130 A D. The father and the son drove the foreigners from the Dekkan, and the son was established as the ruler of the regained provinces, Gotamiputra expecting to succeed to the throne at the original seat of the family. Gotamiputra reigned for twenty-one years according to the Puranas, wherefore he must have died in 154 A. D. He was alive, as

[13] By adding up the numbers in the table.

stated before, in the eighteenth year of Pulumayi, i.e., in 148, and also in the nineteenth when the cave temple was dedicated, and not alive in the twenty-fourth, i.e., in 154, according to the two inscriptions mentioned before Ptolemy's mention of Pulumayi I have already referred to about the year 132; so that, the date deduced from this source and those derived from Gotamiputra's and Pulumayi's inscriptions at Nasik and Rudradaman's at Junagad, on the supposition that the era used in this last is the Saka, as well as those derived from the Puranas may thus be shown to be consistent with each other.

Of the other Princes mentioned in the Inscriptions

The dates of all the princes whose names we find in the inscriptions may therefore be thus arranged :—

Simuka began to reign in B C 73 and ceased in B C. 50
Krishna began in B C 50 and ceased in B C 40
Satakarni (third in the Vayu P) began in B C 40 and ceased in A D 16
Nahapana Kshaharata
Gotamiputra began in A D 133 and ceased in A D 154

If the twenty-eight years assigned to Pulumayi in the Matsya Purana are to be reckoned from the year of Gotamiputra's death, he must be considered to have begun to reign at Dhanakataka in A D 154, and to have ceased in A D 182 He reigned at Paithan from A D 130 to A. D 154, that is, for about twenty-four years, and we have seen that the latest year of his reign recorded in the inscriptions at Nasik and Karli is the twenty-fourth Altogether then his reign lasted for fifty-two years But if the twenty-eight include the twenty-four for which he ruled at Paithan, he must have died in 158 This supposition looks very probable He was succeeded by Sivasri, whose coin found in the Tailangana districts has been described by Thomas in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol IX., p 64. He appears to have been Pulumayi's brother, since he also is styled on the coin Vasithiputa, i e, Vasishthiputra, or the son of Vasishthi He had a reign of seven years and must have died in A. D. 165. Sivaskanda was the next king, to whom also seven years have been assigned There is no trace of these two princes on this side of the country; while the name of the next, Yajna Sri, occurs frequently as we have seen in inscriptions and coins. He appears to have been Pulumayi's immediate successor at Paithan. His full name was Gotamiputra Yajna Sri Satakarni. Among the coins found at Kolhapur there are a great many on which we have the name of Gotamiputra, who appears to be this king and not the elder Gotamiputra, since he did not reign at Paithan. Some copies of the Matsya assign him twenty-nine years, others nine, and twenty, and the Vayu, twenty-nine,

while the Brahmanda allows him nineteen. Probably he reigned in Maharashtra for eighteen or nineteen years, since the eighteenth year of his reign is his latest recorded date, and for twenty-nine years at Dhanakataka since, according to our supposition, the Vayu Purana gives an account of the Dhanakataka branch and his coins are found in Tailangana. And this is confirmed by what we have already said. Pulumayi reigned at Dhanakataka for four years and his two successors for fourteen. All this while, *i.e.*, for eighteen years, Yajna Sri was ruler of Maharashtra. He must thus have ceased to reign in the last country in about A. D. 172 and died in about A. D. 202 The next three reigns lasted, according to the Vayu, for sixteen years. No trace of any of these has yet been found on this side of the country; but coins of Chandra Sri are found near the original seat of government, and two of these are described by Thomas in the paper mentioned above. Thus the latest Andhrabhritya date is A. D. 218.

MADHARIPUTA SAKASENA

Madhariputa Sakasena of the Kanheri inscription, the same as the Madhariputa of the Kolhapur coins, has been identified with Siva Sri, the successor of Pulumayi, by Pandit Bhagvanlal, and I also at one time concurred with him. But the identification is not, I think, tenable. For Sakasena, which was read as Srisena by the Pandit, will not, as I have already observed, admit of being so read. And Thomas has described a specimen of eleven coins found at Amravati near Dharanikot, the legend on which he reads as *Sakasakasa*, but it is not unlikely *Sakasenasa*, "of Sakasena." Besides, we see that on the Kolhapur coins of Vasithiputa and Gotamiputa, the other name that occurs is the same, *viz.*, Vilivayakurasa, while on the coins of Madhariputa we have Sevalakurasa. This could not be the case if Madhariputa were the immediate successor of Pulumayi. The occurrence of the name of the same viceroy on the coins of the two kings shows that one of them was the immediate successor of the other, and that Madhariputa whose viceroy was a different individual could not have reigned between them

One of the coins figured by Bhagvanlal Indrajit bears the names of both Gotamiputa and Madhariputa, showing that the piece originally bearing the name of one of them was re-stamped with the name of the other. Thomas thinks that it was originally Madhariputa's coin. I think it was Gotamiputa's, for, if we see the other figured coins we shall find that they are so stamped as to leave some space between the rim

and the legend. This in the present case is utilized and the name of Madhariputa stamped close to the rim, which shows that the thing was done later. Madhariputra Sakasena, therefore, must have been a successor of Gotamiputra Yajna Sri Satakarni. But, as we have seen, none of his three Puranic successors bore the name, and the name Sakasena is one which has nothing like it on the long list of the Andhrabhrityas. Still that king must have reigned at Dhanakataka also if my surmise that Thomas' Sakasaka is the same as Sakasena is correct. In the Matsya Purana another Andhra dynasty of "seven princes sprung from the servants of the original Andhrabhritya family will," it is said, "come into power after that family becomes extinct."[14] The Vayu has got a similar verse the reading of which, however, is corrupt, but it appears that this new dynasty is there meant to be spoken of as having sprung from the Andhrabhritya family itself and was perhaps an illegitimate branch of it Our Madhariputa Sakasena, therefore, probably belonged to that branch Since on this side of the country there is no trace of the Puranic successor of Yajna Sri, Madhariputra was probably his immediate successor here. How long he reigned we do not know, but, as we have seen, an inscription at Kanheri is dated in the eighth year of his reign, which probably corresponds to A D 180

DATES OF THE LATER SATAVAHANAS

The dates of the later Satavahanas are therefore these

In Maharashtra

Pulumayi	A D 130—A D 154
Yajna Sri	A. D 154—A D 172
Madhariputra	A D 172—was reigning in A. D 180

In Tailangana

Pulumayi	A D 154—A. D 158
Siva Sri	A D 158—A D. 165
Sivaskanda	A D 165—A D 172
Yajna Sri	A D 172—A D. 202
Vijaya	A D. 202—A D 208
Chandra Sri	A. D 208—A D. 211
Pulomavi	A D 211—A D 218.

Thus then, the Andhrabhrityas or Satavahanas ruled over the Dekkan from B. C. 73 to about A D. 218, *i e.*, for about three centuries For some time, however, they were dispossessed of

[14] अन्ध्राणां संस्थिता (ते?) राज्ये तेषां भृत्यान्वये नृपाः। सप्तैवान्ध्रा भविष्यन्ति।

the country by foreigners who belonged to the Saka tribe. How long these were in power it is difficult to determine. If the Saka era was established by the foreign conqueror after his subjugation of the country, and if his Satrap Nahapana or his successor was overthrown by Gotamiputra or Pulumayi, six or seven years after Nahapana's latest date, *viz.*, 46, the foreigners held possession of this country only for about fifty-three years.

SECTION VII

Political and literary traditions about the Satavahanas or Salivahanas

The period during which the Satavahanas or Andhrabhrityas ruled over Maharashtra must have been a prosperous one in the history of the country. Hence several traditions with regard to different kings of this dynasty have been preserved. But that Salivahana or Satavahana was a family name has been forgotten and different princes of the dynasty have been confounded and identified Thus Hemachandra in his Desikosa gives Salivahana, Salana, Hala, and Kuntala as the names of one individual; but we see from the list given above that the last two were borne by different princes and both of them were Salivahanas. In his grammar he gives Salivahana as a Prakrit corruption of Satavahana. In modern times the Saka era is called the Salivahana era or an era founded by Salivahana. When it began to be attributed to him it is difficult to determine precisely All the copper-plate grants up to the eleventh century speak of the era as Sakanripakala, *i e*, the era of the Saka king, or Sakakala, *i e.*, the era of the Saka, and in an inscription at Badami it is stated to be the era beginning from "the coronation of the Saka king" Subsequently the simple expression Sake, "in the year of the Saka," was used, and thereafter Sake or "in the Saka." The word Saka thus came to be understood as equivalent to "an era" generally, the original sense being forgotten And since the era had to be connected with some great king it was associated with the name of Salivahana whom tradition had represented to be such a king; and thus we now use the expression Salivahana Saka, which etymologically can have no sense and is made up of the names of two royal families.

Legend about Salivahana

The current legend makes Salivahana the son of a Brahman girl who was a sojourner at Paithan and lived with her two brothers in the house of a potter. On one occasion she went

to the Godavari to bathe, when Sesha, the king of serpents, becoming enamoured of her, transformed himself into a man and embraced her. In due course she gave birth to Salivahana, who was brought up in the house of the potter.[1] Some time after, king Vikramaditya of Ujjayini, to whom a certain deity had revealed that he was destined to die at the hands of the son of a girl of two years, sent about his Vetala or king of Ghosts to find out if there was such a child anywhere. The Vetala saw Salivahana playing with his girlish mother and informed Vikramaditya. Thereupon he invaded Paithan with a large army, but Salivahana infused life into clay figures of horses, elephants, and men, by means of a charm communicated to him by his father, the king of serpents, encountered Vikramaditya, and defeated him This descent of a king of Ujjayini on Paithan I have already alluded to and endeavoured to explain The Salivahana referred to in this tradition appears to be Pulumayi who in conjunction with his father freed the country from the Sakas and fought with Chashtana or Jayadaman and Rudradaman whose capital appears to have been Ujjayini It was in consequence of some faint reminiscence of Pulumayi Salivahana's relation with the Sakas and their Satrap kings that his name was attached to the era first used by his adversaries.

Satavahana's name in connection with the Brihatkatha

There are also several literary traditions connected with the name of Satavahana or Salivahana A work of the name of Brihatkatha written in that form of the Prakrit which is called the Paisachi or the language of globins is mentioned by Dandin in his work the Kavyadarsa.[2] Somadeva, the author of the Kathasaritsagara, and Kshemendra, the author of another Brihatkatha, profess to have derived their stories from this Paisachi Brihatkatha. The stories comprised in this are said to have been communicated to Gunadhya, who for some time had been minister to Satavahana, by a ghost of the name of Kanabhuti. They were written in blood and arranged in seven books. Gunadhya offered them to king Satavahana, but he refused to receive such a ghostly work written in blood and in the language of gobline, whereupon Gunadhya burnt six of

[1] The story about the girl and her serpent-lover is in the Kathasaritsagara mentioned with reference to Gunadhya who was the son of the girl. Satavahana's origin is given differently

[2] भूतभाषामयीं प्राहुरद्भुतार्थां बृहत्कथाम्.

them. Some time after, king Satavahana having been informed of the charming nature of those stories went to Gunadhya and asked for them. But the last or seventh book alone remained, and this the king obtained from his pupils with his permission.[3]

Hala's Saptasati

There is a work written in the old Maharashtri dialect called Saptasati, which is of the nature of an anthology consisting of Gathas or stanzas in the Arya metre, mostly on love matters. The author of this is in the third verse mentioned as Hala, and ordinarily he is spoken of as Salivahana. Bana speaks of it in a verse in the introduction to his Harshacharita as "an imperishable and refined repository of good sayings composed by Salivahana." Verses from it are quoted in Dhanika's commentary on the Dasarupaka, in the Sarasvati Kanthabharana, and in the Kavyaprakasa. There is, it will be observed, in the list of the Andhrabhritya princes, one of the name of Hala, who probably was either the author of the work or to whom it was dedicated by a court-poet. From these traditions we may, I think, safely conclude that literature flourished under the rule of the Andhrabhrityas, and that the Prakrits or spoken languages, especially the Maharashtri, were probably for the first time used for literary purposes

Kuntala Satakarni

In Vatsyayana's Kamasutra or Institutes of Love, Kuntala Satakarni Satavahana is spoken of as having killed Malayavati, who is called Mahadevi, and consequently must have been his chief queen, by means of a pair of scissors in connection with certain amorous sports.[4] The name Kuntala occurs in the list given in the Matsya Purana.

SECTION VIII

Religious, Social, and Economic Condition of Maharashtra under the Andhrabhrityas or Satavahanas

During this period the religion of Buddha was in a flourishing condition. Princes and chiefs calling themselves Mahabhojas and Maharatthis, merchants (Naigamas), goldsmiths (Suvarnakaras), carpenters (Vardhakas), corn-dealers (Dhanyakasrenis), druggists (Gandhikas), and ordinary householders (Grihasthas)

[3] Kathasaritsagara II, 8.

[4] कर्तर्या कुन्तलः शातकर्णिः शातवाहनो महादेवीं मलयवतीं [जघान] Aufrecht's quotation in the Oxf. Cat, p. 217 b, does not contain the name मलयवतीं, and he supplies गणिकां from the preceding clause; but a Ganika or courtezan cannot be called Mahadevi

caused at their expense temples and monasteries to be excavated out of the solid rock for the use of the followers of that religion. It has been mentioned that in the first part of this period the country was exposed to the inroads of foreign tribes, such as Yavanas or Bactrian Greeks, Sakas, and Palhavas. These afterwards settled in the country and adopted the Buddhist religion. For, among the donors and benefactors whose names are recorded in the cave inscriptions, there are a good many Sakas and Yavanas The temples were provided with *chaityas* or tombs in imitation of those in which some relic of Buddha was buried, and these were objects of worship The monasteries contained cells intended as residences for Bhikshus or mendicant priests These travelled over the country during the year and spent the four rainy months at one of these monastic establishments In the month of Sravana the monks held the ceremony of robing, at which the old clothes were thrown away and new ones worn To provide these for them, charitable persons deposited, as we have seen, sums of money with certain guilds with directions that out of the interest new robes should be purchased and given to the priests. Villages were assigned by kings and their officers for the support of these religious establishments The mendicant priests often travelled by sea , and hence at the head of several of the creeks in the Konkan we have cave monasteries intended as Dharmasalas or rest-houses for them We have such caves at Chiplun, Mahad, and Kudem situated respectively on the Dabhol, the Bankot, and the Rajapuri creeks For those who landed at the head of the Bombay harbour or at Ghodbandar, there were the Kanheri caves.

Brahmanism equally with Buddhism in a flourishing condition

Brahmanism also flourished side by side with Buddhism. In the inscription at Nasik in which Ushavadata dedicates the cave monastery excavated at his expense for the use of the itinerant "priests of the four quarters," he speaks, as we have seen, of his many charities to Brahmans. The same notions as regards these matters prevailed then as now. Ushavadata fed a hundred thousand Brahmanas as the Maharaj Sindia did about twenty years ago. It was considered highly meritorious to get Brahmans married at one's expense then as now. Gotamiputra, also, in the same inscription which records a benefaction in favour of the Buddhists, is spoken of as the only protector of Brahmans and as having like Ushavadata put them in the way of increasing their race. Kings and princes thus

appear to have patronized the followers of both the religions, and in none of the inscriptions is there an indication of an open hostility between them.

TRADE AND COMMERCE
IDENTIFICATION OF TOWNS AND CITIES

Trade and commence must also have been in a flourishing condition during this early period. Ships from the western countries came, according to the author of the Periplus, to Barugaza or Bharukachchha, the modern Bharoch, and the merchandize brought by them was thence carried to the inland countries. Onyx stone in large quantities from Paithan, and ordinary cottons, muslins, mallow-coloured cottons, and other articles of local production from Tagara, were carried in wagons to Barugaza and thence exported to the west. Paithan is placed by the author of the Periplus at the distance of twenty days' journey to the south of Barugaza, and is spoken of as the greatest city in Dakhinabades or Dakshinapatha, and Tagara, ten days' east of Paithan.[1] This town has not yet been identified. Its name does not occur in any of the cave inscriptions, but it is mentioned in a copper-plate grant of the first half of the seventh century; and princes of a dynasty known by the name of Silahara call themselves "sovereigns of Tagara, the best of towns," in all their grants. Some have identified it with Devagiri and others with Junnar, but in both cases its bearing from Paithan as given by the Greek geographers has not been taken into account

I have elsewhere discussed the question and have proposed Dharur in the Nizam's territory as the site of the ancient city. The other sea-port towns mentioned in the Periplus are Souppara, the modern Suparem or Supara near Bassein and the Sorparaka of the inscriptions and the Puranas, where interesting Buddhistic relics have recently been dug out by Campbell and Pandit Bhagvanlal; Kalliena, the modern Kalyan, which must have been a place of great commercial importance since a good many of the donors whose names are inscribed in the caves at Kanheri and some mentioned in the caves at Junnar were merchants residing in Kalyan;[2] Semulla identified with Chembur by some and with Chaul by others; Mandagora, very likely the same as the modern Mandad, originally Mandagada, situated on the Rajapuri creek near Kudem where we have the caves; Palaipatmai,

[1] Ind Ant. Vol. VIII., pp. 143, 144.
[2] See the inscriptions in Jour B B. R A. S, Vol VI., and in Arch Surv., W India, No. 10.

which probably was the same as Pal which is near Mahad; Melizeigara, the second part of the name which can at once be recognised as Jayagad and which must be identified with that place whatever the first part Meli may mean; Buzantion, and others. Buzantion is probably the Vaijayanti[3] of the inscriptions, but with what modern town it is to be identified it is difficult to say Vaijayanti is mentioned in the Kadamba copper-plates translated by Telang,[4] and was most probably some place in North Kanara In a grant of the Vijayanagar dynasty, Madhava, the great counsellor of king Harihara, is represented to have been appointed viceroy of Jayantipura. He then conquered Goa and seems to have made that his capital.[5]

Jayantipura is said to be another name for Banavasi. In the Sabhaparvan of the Mahabharata, Banavasi is spoken of as if it were the name of a country, and immediately after it, Jayanti is mentioned as a town[6] If then Jayanti and Vaijayanti were two forms of the same name, Vaijayanti was probably the modern Banavasi, or perhaps in consideration of the facts that the name of Vaijayanti occurs in an inscription at Karli and also that the Greek geographers in mentioning the places of note on the coast could not have run at once from Jayagad to the southern limit of North Kanara, Vaijayanti may be identified with Vijayadrug But these objections are not of very great weight.

INLAND TOWNS

It is not possible to ascertain the names of all the towns in the inland country that were in a flourishing condition during the time we have been speaking of. Besides Paithan and Tagara there was Nasik, which is mentioned in an inscription in one of the caves at the place and also at Bedsa. The district about the town was called Govardhana Junnar was another flourishing town, as is attested by the number of cave-temples at the place But what its name was we do not know. The name Junnar, Junanara, Jurnanagara, or Jirnanagara, which means the old town, must have been given to it after it has lost its importance I have already expressed my belief that it was the capital of Nahapana Pulumayi, who overthrew the

[3] Karli No 1, Arch Surv West India, No 10.
[4] Jour. B B. R. A S, Vol XII, pp 318 and 321
[5] Jour B B R. A. S., Vol. IV, p 115
[6] Chap XXXI, vv. 69 and 70, Bom Ed The Vanavasinah at the end of v 69 refers to the town or country of Banavasi and ought properly to appear as Vanavasikan. In the Puranas, too, Vanavasikah is given as the name of a people

dynasty of Nahapana, is in one of the Nasik inscriptions styled "lord of Navanara," meant probably for Navanagara or the new town. That he reigned at Paithan, we know from Ptolemy and also from the many traditions about Salivahana which locate the person or persons bearing that name at that city. The Navanara, then, of the inscription was probably another name given to the town when Pulumayi re-established his dynasty, and, in contrast with it, Nahapana's capital was called the "Old Town" Or perhaps Pulumayi widened the old town of Paithan and called the new extension Navanara. What town existed near the group of caves at Karli and the adjoining places, we do not know. But the place spoken of in connection with the monastic establishment is in an inscription named Valuraka,[7] and the district in which it was situated is called Mamalahara[8] or the district of Mamala, the modern Maval. Further south, there was the town of Karahataka, the modern Karhad, which is mentioned in an inscription at Kudem[9] and also in the Mahabharata[10] Kolhapur also must have been a flourishing town in those days, since a Buddhistic stupa containing the coins we have already noticed and other remains of antiquity have been found there. The old name of the place is unknown Either Karhad or Kolhapur must be the Hippocura of Ptolemy in which he locates Baleocuros whom we have identified with the Vilivayakura of the Kolhapur coins.

TRADE-GUILDS RATE OF INTEREST

Persons engaged in trade and commerce seem to have acquired large fortunes The great *chaitya* cave at Karli was caused to be constructed by a Seth (Sreshthin) of Vaijayanti, and in other places also, especially at Kanheri, their gifts were costly. There were in those days guilds of trades such as those of weavers, druggists, corn-dealers, oil-manufacturers, &c. Their organization seems to have been complete and effective, since, as already mentioned, they received permanent deposits of money and paid interest on them from generation to generation. Self-government by means of such guilds and village communities has always formed an important factor of the political administration of the country. A *nigamasabha* or town-corporation is also mentioned in one of Ushavadata's Nasik inscriptions, which shows that something like municipal institutions existed in those early days. It is also worthy of remark that the yearly interest on the 2000 *karshapanas* deposited by Ushavadata was

[7] No. 14, Karli. Arch. Surv. West Ind., No. 10. [8] *Ibid*, No 19.
[9] No. 20, Kuda Caves. Arch. Surv West. Ind., No. 10.
[10] In the place above referred to.

100 *karshapanas*, and in another case that on 1000 was 75, showing that the rate of interest was not so high as it has been in recent times, but varied from five to seven and a half per cent. per annum. If the rate of interest depends on the degree of security and bears an inverse ratio to the efficienty of government, it appears that the country was well governed notwithstanding political revolutions. To this result the efficient local organization spoken of above, which no changes of dynasties over affected, must no doubt have contributed in a large measure.

Communication between different parts of the Country

Communication between the several provinces does not appear to have been very difficult Benefactions of persons residing in Vaijayanti or Banavasi, and Sorparaka or Supara, are recorded in the cave at Karli, of a Nasik merchant at Bedsa; of some inhabitants of Bharukachchha and Kalyan at Junnar, of natives of Northern India and Dattamitri, which I have elsewhere shown was situated in Lower Sindh, at Nasik; and of an iron-monger of Karahakada or Karhad at Kudem. On the other hand, gifts of natives of Nasik and Karhad are recorded on the stupa at Bharhut which lies midway between Jabalpur and Allahabad[11] Unless there were frequent communications between these places, it is not possible that the natives of one should make religious endowments at another.

SECTION IX

Probable History of the period between the Extinction of the Andhrabhrityas and the rise of the Chalukyas

Abhiras

For about three centuries after the extinction of the Andhrabhrityas, we have no specific information about the dynasties that ruled over the country The Matsya and the Vayu, as observed before, place seven princes of a branch of the Andhrabhrityas after them, and I have given reasons to believe that the Madhariputra of the inscription and the coins referred to before was one of them. This branch seems to have been in possession of the whole extent of the country that was ruled over by their predecessors. If the fact, noticed before, of some coins of the later Kshatrapa kings being found in a village near Karhad is to be regarded as evidence of their sway over this

[11] Cunningham's Stupa of Bharhut, pp. 131, 135, 136, 138, 139.

country and not to be attributed merely to commercial intercourse, the Kshatrapa dynasty also must be considered to have obtained possession of a portion at least of the Dekkan after the Satavahanas. The earliest of these princes is Vijaya Saha[1] (or Sena) whose date is 144[2] which, if the era is that of the Saka kings, corresponds to A. D. 222, while the latest date we have assigned to the Satavahanas is about A. D. 218. The last of the princes whose coins are found near Karhad is Visva Saha (Sena), one of whose coins has the date 214 and another 224, corresponding to A D. 292 and A. D. 302.[3] About this time princes of the race of Abhiras or cowherds must have come into power. Ten of them are mentioned in the Puranas. In the Nasik caves there is an inscription dated in the ninth year of Virasena Abhira, the son of Damari and of Sivadatta Abhira.[4] The characters in the inscription, though they do not differ much from those in the inscriptions of the later Andhrabhritya kings, must be regarded as more modern. The language is Sanskrit which I regard as an indication of a later era. When the popular dialect became different from the Pali, or the Pali became less sacred, the people fell back upon the original Sanskrit for such purposes as those of recording religious gifts, and thus in all the later grants we find the Sanskrit used, while, from the times of Asoka to the extinction of the Andhrabhrityas, the language used was mostly the Pali, or, to speak more accurately, one or more of the Prakrits of the period. The Abhiras were in power for sixty-seven years according to the Vayu Purana Many other dynasties are mentioned in the Puranas as having ruled over the country. But the information given there is much more confused than in the case of the previous families It appears that the dynasties that ruled over different parts of India at the same time are put together and confused with those that succeeded each other, so that it is not possible without extraneous assistance to determine their chronological relations.

Strakutas or Rashtrakutas

An inscription on copper-plates found in the *chaitya* of one of the caves at Kanheri is dated in the 245th year of a dynasty, which, if the word has been correctly lithographed, is called

[1] Jour. B B. R A. S, Vol VII., p 17 [2] *Ibid*, p 28 (No 10) [3] *Ibid*, No. 15.

[4] Jour B. B. R. A S, Vol. VII, No. 15, and Trans. Inter. Con. 1874, p. 341.

Strakuta.[5] But the published copy of the inscription was made in the time of Bird and the plates themselves are not now available for re-examination But we have seen from the cave inscriptions that from remote times tribes of Kshatriyas calling themselves Bhojas and Ratthis or Rashtrikas were predominant in the country. In the northern part of the Dekkan or Maharashtra these called themselves "the Great Ratthis or Maharatthis, the ancient Marathas," but in other places the name in use must have been Ratthis or Ratthas, since we know of more modern chiefs in the Southern Maratha Country who called themselves by that name Some of the Rattha tribes must have formed themselves into a family or group (kuta) and called themselves Ratthakuda and later on Rathoda, the Sanskrit original of which is Rashtrakuta These native chiefs that ruled over the country must have been held in subjection by the Andhrabhrityas during the continuance of their power, and also by the later Kshatrapas. But after the dynasties became extinct they must have resumed their independence The Abhiras held sway for some time and over a part of the country only, for the tradition of Gauli or cowherd rulers which very probably refers to them is confined to the Nasik and Khandes districts The Rashtrakutas therefore probably rose to power about the same time as the Abhiras The Strakuta of the Kanheri plate is not unlikely a mislection for Rashtrakuta, and if so that family had been in power for 245 years at the time when the inscription was engraved. From the form of the characters it appears that the plates were engraved in the latter part of the fifth century or the early part of the sixth, wherefore it would appear that the dynasty was founded about the end of the third And in the inscriptions on the Miraj plates and the Yevur tablet first brought to light by Wathen and Sir Walter Elliot,[6] respectively, it is stated that Jayasimha, the founder of the Chalukya dynasty in the Dekkan, established himself in the country after having vanquished Indra, the son of Krishna of the Rashtrakuta family The Chalukya dynasty was, as will hereafter be seen, founded in the beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era From about the end of the third to the beginning of the sixth century, therefore, the Dekkan was ruled over by princes of the Rashtrakuta family. This is all that we can gather. More particular information about the period is not available.

[5] Jour B. B. R. A S, Vol V., p 16, of the copies of the Kanheri inscription.

[6] Jour. R. A S, Vols II, III, IV, , Ind. Ant. Vol VIII., p. 12.

SECTION X

The Early Chalukyas
Legendary Origin

We will next proceed to an account of the princes who belonged to the dynasty called Chalikya, Chalukya, or Châlukya. A large number of inscriptions on copper-plates and stone tablets have amply elucidated the history of this dynasty. The legendary origin of this family is thus given by Bilhana, the author of the Vikramankadevacharita, or life of Vikramaditya, a prince of the later or restored Chalukya line. On one occasion when Brahmadeva was engaged in his morning devotions, Indra came up to him and complained of the sinfulness of the world in which no man performed the sacrificial rites or gave oblations to the gods Brahmadeva looked at his *chuluka* or the hand hollowed for the reception of water in the course of his devotional exercise, and from it sprang a mighty warrior who became the progenitor of the Chalukya race Some time after, two great heroes of the name of Harita and Manavya were born in the family and they raised it to very great distinction The original seat of the dynasty was Ayodhya, and in the course of time a branch of it established itself in the south

Jayasimha, the first Prince
Ranaraga, Pulakesi I, Kirtivarman

As stated in the opening lines of all the copper-plate grants of this family, the Chalukyas belonged to the Gotra or race of Manavya and were the descendants of Hariti They were under the guardianship of the Seven Mothers and were led to prosperity by the god Kartikeya They obtained from Narayana a standard with a boar represenetd on it, and fighting under that standard they subjugated all kings. The Yevur tablet and the Miraj plates, referred to above, agree with Bilhana in representing Ayodhya as the original seat of the family. But since these were almost contemporaneous with the poet, all the three represent only the tradition that was current in the eleventh century. The first prince who raised the family to distinction in the south was Jayasimha. He fought several battles with the reigning princes, and, among them, those belonging to the Rashtrakuta family, if the Yevur tablet is to be trusted, and acquired the sovereignty of the country. After him reigned Ranaraga, who was a prince of great valour and had a stately and gigantic person. He was succeeded by his son Pulakesi, who performed a great

Asvamedha or horse-sacrifice and attended equally to the concerns of this world and the next He made Vatapipura, which has been identified with Badami in the Kaladgi district, his capital. He appears to have been the first great prince of the family; for, in all the subsequent grants the genealogy begins with him. His full title was Satyasraya Sri Pulakesi Vallabha Maharaja Of these words, *Vallabha* appears to be the title of all princes of this dynasty In some cases, *Vallabha* had *Prithvi* prefixed to it, so that the expression meant "the Lover or Husband of the Earth" *Satyasraya* or "the Support of Truth" was inherited by some of the later princes Pulakesi's son Kirtivarman succeeded to the throne after him. He subjugated a family of princes of the name of Nalas; but over what province it ruled is not known He also subdued the Mauryas, who, from a statement in an inscription at Aihole[1] upon which this account is principally based, seem to have been chiefs of northern Konkan, and reduced also the Kadambas of Banavasi in North Kanara

MANGALISA

Kirtivarman had three sons at least, who were all young when he died His brother Mangalisa therefore came to the throne after him Mangalisa vanquished the Kalachuris, a family of princes ruling over the country of Chedi, the capital of which was Tripura or Tevur near Jabalpur. He is said to have carried his arms to both the eastern and the western seas On the coast of the latter he conquered what is called Revatidvipa, or the Island of Revati A copper-plate grant by a governor of this island was found near Goa,[2] from which it would appear that Revati was very probably the old name of Redi[3] situated a few miles to the south of Vengurlem In an inscription in a cave-temple at Badami, it is stated that the temple[4] was caused to be excavated by Mangalisa He there placed an idol of Vishnu, and on the occasion of its consecration granted a village, out of the revenues of which a ceremony called Narayanabali was to be performed and sixteen Brahmans to be fed every day, and the residue to be devoted to the maintenance of recluses. This inscription is dated in the twelfth year of some reign when 500 years of the Saka era had elapsed. The reign in the twelfth year of which the

[1] Ind Ant, Vol VIII, p 241
[2] Jour. B B R A. S, Vol X., pp 365-6
[3] Revati should, according to the usual rules, be corrupted to Revadi or Re-a di and then to Redi
[4] Ind Ant., Vol III., p. 305

cave-temple was consecrated is taken to be the reign of Mangalisa. On this supposition Mangalisa began to reign in 489 Saka; but I have elsewhere[5] brought forward what I consider to be very strong arguments to show that Mangalisa could not have come to the throne so early as that, and the only criticism[6] that I have seen on my observations seems to me to be very unsatisfactory and serves only to confirm my statement. The reign referred to, therefore, is that of Kirtivarman, and if its twelfth year fell in 500 Saka, Kirtivarman must have come to the throne in 489 Saka corresponding to A. D. 567. In that inscription Mangalisa assigns all the good fruits of his charities to his brother in the presence of the gods Aditya and Agni and of the assembled crowd of men, and claims to himself only the fruit arising from serving his brother faithfully. In the copper-plate grant of the governor of Revati, referred to above, Saka 532 is mentioned as the twentieth year of the reign of a prince who, from the titles given there and from the fact that Mangalisa had about that period conquered the island, must have belonged to the Chalukya family. He could not have been Kirtivarman, for the island was not conquered in his time, neither could he be the successor of Mangalisa who, as I shall presently state, got possession of the throne in 532 Saka He must therefore have been Mangalisa himself, and if Saka 532 was the twentieth year of his reign, he must have begun to reign in 513 Saka[7] Kirtivarman thus reigned from 489 Saka or A. D 567 to 513 Saka or A. D 591, that is, for twenty-four years

DEATH OF MANGALISA

In the latter years of his reign Mangalisa seems to have been engaged in intrigues to keep his brother's son Pulakesi off from the succession and to place his own son on the throne. But Pulakesi, who had grown to be a prince of remarkable abilities, baffled all his intrigues, and by the use of energy and counsel he neutralized all the advantage that Mangalisa had by the actual possession of power, and in the attempt to secure the throne for his son, Mangalisa lost his own life and his kingdom.

PULAKESI II

Pulakesi, the son of Kirtivarman, succeeded His full title was Satyasraya Sri Prithvi-Vallabha Maharaja From a copper-

[5] Jour. B B R A. S., Vol XIV., pp 23—25
[6] Ind Ant, Vol X, pp. 57-58
[7] See also the arguments used by me in the paper referred to above.

plate[8] grant executed in the third year of his reign and in 535 Saka, he appears to have come to the throne in 533 Saka or A. D. 611. After Mangalisa's death, the enemies whom his valour had kept in subjection rose on all sides. A prince of the name of Appayika and another named Govinda who very probably belonged to the Rashtrakuta race, since that name occurs frequently in the genealogy of that family, attacked the new Chalukya king The former, who had horses from the northern seas in his army, fled away in fear when opposed by the powerful forces of Pulakesi, and the latter surrendered to him and becoming his ally was received into favour and rewarded[9] He then turned his arms against the Kadambas, attacked Banavasi, their capital, and reduced it. The prince of the Ganga family which ruled over the Chera[10] country situated about the modern province of Maisur, and the head of the Alupa[11] race which probably held the province of Malabar, became his allies He then sent his forces against the Mauryas of the Konkan, who were vanquished without any difficulty. With a fleet of hundreds of ships he attacked Puri,[12] which was the mistress of the western sea, and reduced it. The kings of Lata, Malava, and Gurjara were conquered and became his dependents About this time, there was a powerful monarch in Northern India whose name was Harshavardhana. He was king of Kanoj, but in the course of time made himself the paramount sovereign of the north. He then endeavoured to extend his power to the south of the Narmada, but was opposed by Pulakesi, who killed many of his elephants and defeated his army Thenceforward, Pulakesi received or assumed the title of Paramesvara or lord paramount This achievement was by the later kings of the dynasty considered the most important, and that alone is mentioned in their copper-plate grants in the description of Pulakesi II Pulakesi appears to have kept a strong force on the banks of the Narmada to guard the frontiers. Thus, by his policy as well as valour, he became the supreme lord of the three countries called Maharashtrakas containing ninety-nine thousand villages.

[8] Ind Ant, Vol VI, p 73

[9] Ind. Ant, Vol VIII, p 242, line 8 of the inscription. From the words *cha*, *ekena* and *aparena* it is clear that two persons are here meant. But Fleet in his translation makes both of them one, which is a mistake, and the translation, I must say, is unintelligible.

[10] Ind Ant, Vol I, p 363, and Vol VII, p 168

[11] The name of the royal family seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of Alupai on the Malabar Coast.

[12] The town is called the Lakshmi of the Western Ocean It was probably the capital of the Maurya king of the Konkan and afterwards of the Silaharas

The kings of Kosala and Kalinga [13] trembled at his approach and surrendered to him. After some time he marched with a large army against the king of Kanchipura or Conjeveram and laid siege to the town. He then crossed the Kaveri and invaded the country of the Cholas, the Pandyas, and the Keralas. But these appear to have become his allies After having in this manner established his supremacy throughout the south, he entered his capital and reigned in peace. The date of the incription from which the greater portion of this narrative is taken is 556 Saka, corresponding to A. D. 634, so that Pulakesi's career of conquest had closed before A. D. 634.

Hwan Thsang's Account

It was in the reign of this king that Hwan Thsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, visited India. In the course of his travels through the country he visited Maharashtra, which he calls *Mo-ho-la-cha*. He saw Pulakesi, whom he thus describes : "He is of the race of *Ysa-ta-li* (Kshatriyas) ; his name is *Pu-lo-ki-she ;* his ideas are large and profound and he extends widely his sympathy and benefactions. His subjects serve him with perfect self-devotion " [14] About Pulakesi's having withstood the power of Harshavardhana which we have before mentioned on the authority of inscriptions, Hwan Thsang speaks in these words · "At present the great king Siladitya (Harshavardhana) carries his victorious arms from the east to the west ; he subdues distant people and makes the neighbouring nations fear him ; but the people of this kingdom alone have not submitted. Although he be often at the head of all the troops of the five Indies, though he has summoned the bravest generals of all the kingdoms, and though he has marched himself to punish them, he has not yet been able to vanquish their opposition From this we may judge of their warlike habits and manners."[15] The Chinese traveller visited Maharashtra about the year A D 639, that is, five years after the inscription referred to above was incised The kingdom, according to him, was six thousand *li* (1200 miles) in circuit and the capital was thirty *li*, and towards the west was situated near a large river The soil, climate, and the character and general condition of the people of Maharashtra are thus described by him : "The soil is rich and fertile and produces abundance of grain. The climate is warm. The manners are simple and honest The natives are tall and haughty and supercilious in character Whoever does them a service may count on their gratitude, but he that offends them

[13] For the position of these countries, see p 15-16.
[14] Ind Ant, Vol VII., p 290 [15] Ind Ant., Vol. VII., p. 291.

will not escape their revenge. If any one insult them they will risk their lives to wipe out that affront. If one apply to them in difficulty they will forget to care for themselves in order to flee to his assistance. When they have an injury to avenge they never fail to give warning to their enemy; after which each puts on his cuirass and grasps his spear in his hand. In battle they pursue the fugitives but do not slay those who give themselves up When a general has lost a battle, instead of punishing him corporally, they make him wear women's clothes, and by that force him to sacrifice his own life. The state maintains a body of dauntless champions to the number of several hundreds Each time they prepare for combat they drink wine to intoxicate them, and then one of these men, spear in hand, will defy ten thousand enemies If they kill a man met upon the road the law does not punish them Whenever the army commences a campaign these braves march in the van to the sound of the drum Besides, they intoxicate many hundreds of naturally fierce elephants At the time of their coming to blows they drink also strong liquor. They run in a body trampling everything under their feet No enemy can stand before them. The king, proud of possessing these men and elephants, despises and slights the neighbouring kingdoms" Pulakesi II appears undoubtedly to have been the greatest prince of this dynasty; and his fame reached even foreign countries He is represented in an Arabic work to have sent an embassy to Chosroes II, king of Persia, who reigned from A D 591 to A D 628, in the thirty-sixth year of that prince's reign, and must have received one from him, either before or after [16]

VISHNUVARDHANA, JAYASIMHA, CHANDRADITYA, ADIYAVARMAN

During his reign the power of the Chalukyas was established over a very large extent of country His younger brother Vishnuvardhana, otherwise called Vishamasiddhi, seems to have for some time been appointed to rule over the Satara and Pandharpur districts, since a copper-plate inscription of his found at Satara records the grant of a village situated on the southern bank of the Bhima [17] Vishnuvardhana afterwards obtained the province of Vengi between the lower Krishna and the Godavari, where he founded another flourishing branch of the Chalukya dynasty Pulakesi's second brother Jayasimha must have been his brother's viceroy in the district about Nasik. For, in a copper-plate grant found in the Igatpuri taluka of the district, Nagavardhana, the son of Jayasimha, assigns the

[16] Arch Sur. W India, No 9, pp 90-92
[17] Jour B B. R. A S, Vol II, p 11

village of Balegrama, which has been identified with the modern Belgam Tarhala about twelve miles to the north-east of Igatpuri, for the worship of the god Kapalikesvara.[18] The district in which the village was situated is in the grant called Goparashtra. Similarly, Pulakesi's eldest son Chandraditya ruled over the province which contained the Savantvadi district. In a copper-plate grant. Vijayabhattarika, the queen of Chandraditya, who is styled Prithvivallabha and Maharaja or great king, assigns to certain Brahmans a field along with the adjoining *Khajjana* (modern Khajana) or marshy land in the village of Kocharem situated on the coast about seven miles to the north of Vengurlem. In another grant found at Nerur, she assigns a field in the fifth year of *svarajya* or "one's own reign." Now the reign referred to by this expression must be her husband's, so spoken of to distinguish it from that of his brother Vikramaditya, the second son of Pulakesi, who succeeded his father as the chief seat of government. Chandraditya was a king, as the titles above given show, and it is proper that his crowned queen should speak of his reign as *svarajya* or her reign. It is not necessary that charities such as those recorded in these grants should, like political offices or rights, be conferred by the reigning prince alone The religious merit arising from them is sought by women as much as by men; and hence a woman like Vijayabhattarika might, during the lifetime of her husband, give a field The fact of her doing so does not necessitate the supposition that she was a ruler or a regent when she made these gants, as has been thought. She was simply the crowned queen of a reigning monarch at that time. Another son of Pulakesi named Adityavarman seems to have ruled over the district near the confluence of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra[19]

VIKRAMADITYA I

Pulakesi was succeeded by his second son Vikramaditya. In the grants he is called Pulakesi's *priyatanaya* or favourite son; so that it appears that Pulakesi had arranged that Vikramaditya should succeed him at the principal seat of government, and had assigned an outlying province to his eldest son Chandraditya At the beginning of this reign as of the previous ones there was a disturbance, but it did not come from the princes or chiefs more to the north who seem to have now been permanently humbled, but from the far south. The Pallava king

[18] Jour. B. B. R A S., Vol II, p 4, first translated by Bala Sastri and then by me (Jour. B B. R A. S, Vol. XIV.), and last of all, by Fleet (Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., p. 125) [19] Ind. Ant., Vol X, p. 244.

of Kanchi or Conjeveram and the rulers of the Cholas, the Pandyas, and the Keralas threw off the yoke which Pulakesi had but loosely placed over them, and rebelled Vikramaditya, who was a man of abilities and daring adventure, broke the power of the Cholas, Pandyas, and Keralas. He defeated the Pallava king, captured his capital Kanchi, and compelled him, who had never before humbled himself before anybody, to do him homage. On the back of his horse Chitrakantha and sword in hand he is said to have repelled all the enemies that attacked him In this manner he acquired again the whole of the dominions ruled over by his father, and became the paramount sovereign of the country "between the three seas." [20]

A BRANCH OF THE CHALUKYA DYNASTY ESTABLISHED IN SOUTHERN GUJARAT

During the reign of Vikramaditya I a branch of the Chalukya dynasty was founded in southern Gujarat or the country called Lata in ancient times. Vikramaditya seems to have assigned that province to a younger brother named Jayasimhavarman, who thus was another son of Pulakesi II [21] Jayasimha's son Vinayaditya Yuddhamalla made a grant of land in Saka 653, [22] and Sryasraya Siladitya, another son of the same monarch, assigned a village, while residing at Navasari, in the year 421. [23] What era this date refers to is not stated in the grant, but it is only by taking it as referring to the Gupta era, which was in use in Gujarat at the time, that we can bring the two brothers close together, for Gupta 421 corresponds to Saka 662 [24] Sryasraya is called *yuvaraja* or "prince-regent," from which it appears that he was associated with his brother in the government of the country A copper-plate grant of the Gujarat Chalukyas found at Khera and translated by Dowson contains the names of three princes, viz, Jayasimharaja, Buddhavarmaraja, and Vijayaraja [25] Scholars and antiquarians have understood the first of these to be the same as Jayasimha the founder of the Chalukya dynasty of the Dekkan But I think the prince meant is Jayasimhavarman, the brother of Vikramaditya I. and founder of the Gujarat branch of the dynasty, for nothing has hitherto been discovered connecting the early Chalukya princes with Gujarat The grant, however,

[20] Ind Ant, Vol VI, pp 86, 89, 92, Jour B B R. A S, Vol III, p 203, and Ind Ant., Vol IX, pp 127, 130-131

[21] Jour B. B R A S, Vol XVI, p 2

[22] *Ib*, p. 5

[23] *Ib*, pp 2 & 3

[24] See Appendix A

[25] Jour R A A, Vol. I, p 268.

appears to me to be a forgery.[26] The Buddhavarman mentioned in it, if he existed at all, must have been another son of Jayasimhavarman, besides the two spoken of above, and he and his son Vijayaraja must have ruled over another part of Gujarat. If the grant is to be regarded as genuine, the date 394 will have to be referred to the Gupta era, as that of Sryasraya's grant has to be.

VINAYADITYA

After Vikramaditya I, his son Vinayaditya came to the throne. One of his grants is dated Saka 611, which was the tenth year of his reign,[27] another in 613 Saka and in the eleventh year, and a third in 616 Saka and the fourteenth year.[28] There is also an inscription of his on a stone tablet, the date occuring in which is 608 Saka and the seventh year of his reign[29] From these it appears that Vinayaditya came to the throne in 602 Saka corresponding to A. D 680, in which year his father Vikramaditya must have ceased to reign. His latest date is A. D. 694, but his reign terminated in A. D 696 as is seen from his son's grants referred to below During his father's lifetime, Vinayaditya assisted him in his wars with the southern kings and won his love by destroying the forces of the Pallava king and of the other three, and tranquillizing the country Between the eleventh and fourteenth years of his reign (A D 692—A. D. 695) he succeeded in making the Pallavas, Kalambhras, Keralas, Haihayas, Vilas, Malavas, Cholas, Pandyas, and others as steadfast allies of the Chalukya crown as the Ganga family of Chera and the Alupas whose loyalty was for the first time secured by Pulakesi II[30] The kings of Kavera, or Kerala as it is read in some of the grants, of the Parasikas who were probably the Syrians settled on the coast of Malabar, and of Simhala were made tributaries. He also seems, like his grandfather, to have fought with and defeated some paramount sovereign of Northern India whose name is not given, and to have acquired all the insignia of paramountcy, such as a

[26] My reasons are these (1) Its style is unlike that of the Chalukya grants (2) It does not contain the usual invocation to the Boar incarnation. (3) It simply gives the three regulation names, *i e*, so many as are prescribed in the legal treatises (4) There is a uniform mode of naming the three princes, by adding the suffix *raja*, a mode not to be met with in the genuine Chalukya grants. (5) None of the three princes has a title or *Biruda* as all Chalukya princes from Pulakesi I downwards had

[27] Ind., Ant, Vol VI, p 86

[28] *Ibid*, pp 89, 92

[29] Ind, Ant, Vol, VII, p 112

[30] This fact is not mentioned in the grant of the eleventh year of his reign (Ind Ant, Vol VI, p. 89), while it does occur in that of the fourteenth year (p 92) and in those of his successors.

certain standard called *Palidhvaja*, the drum called Dhakka, and others. These events must have taken place after 616 Saka, since they are not mentioned in his grant of that year, but in those of his successors.[31]

VIJAYADITYA

Vinayaditya was succeeded by his son Vijayaditya. He appears to have assisted his grandfather in his campaigns against the southern kings and his father in the expedition into the north. At one time he was captured by his enemies though they had been defeated and were retreating. Notwithstanding he was in their custody he succeeded in averting anarchy and disturbance in his own country, and when he got off, established his power everywhere and bore all the insignia of supreme sovereignty. There is an inscription at Badami in which it is stated that during his reign, idols of Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesvara were put up at Vatapipura in Saka 621 and the third year of his reign. One of his grants was issued in Saka 622 and in the fourth year of his reign, and another in Saka 627 and in the tenth year, from which it follows that his reign began in 619 Saka corresponding to A. D. 697. Both of these grants, and another which bears no date, were found at Nerur in the Sanvantvadi state.[32] Vijayaditya had a long reign of thirty-six years.

VIKRAMADITYA II

After Vijayaditya, his son Vikramaditya II ascended the throne. A grant of his, engraved on a stone tablet, is dated in 656 Saka and in the second year of his reign,[33] wherefore he must have come to the throne in 655 Saka or A. D. 733. Soon after his coronation he had to turn his arms against his hereditary enemy the Pallava king. The name of the prince who reigned at the Pallava capital at this time was Nandipotavarman. Vikramaditya marched against him in haste and encountered him in the Tudaka country. Nandipotavarman was defeated and had to fly away from the battle-field. The Chalukya king got a good deal of spoil in the shape of large quantities of rubies, elephants, and instruments of martial music. He then entered the city of Kanchi but did not destroy it. In that city he gave a good deal of money to Brahmans and to the poor and helpless, and restored to the temples of Rajasimhesvara and other gods the gold which, it appears, had

[31] Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, pp. 127 and 131.
[32] *Ibid.* and Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III, p. 203, *et seq.*
[33] Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 107.

been taken by some previous king. He then fought with the Cholas, the Pandyas, the Keralas, and the Kalabhras, and reduced them.[34] A temple in commemoration of his victories over the king of Kanchi was constructed by his queen at Pattadakal in the Kaladgi district.[35] This king reigned for fourteen years.

Kirtivarman II
Overthrow of the Chalukyas

His son Kirtivarman II. began to reign in 669 Saka or A. D. 747, since a grant of his, made in the eleventh year of his reign, bears the date 679 Saka [36] He assisted his father in his wars with the Pallavas On one occasion he marched against the Pallava king with his father's permission. The ruler of Kanchi, too weak to face him in the battle-field, took refuge in a fortress His power was broken by the Chalukya king, who returned to his country with a large spoil During the reign of this prince the Chalukyas were deprived of their power in Maharashtra and the sovereignty of the country passed from their hands into those of the Rashtrakuta princes. The main branch of the dynasty became extinct; but it had several minor offshoots, and one of these in the person of Tailapa succeeded in the course of time in regaining supreme power. From this time forward, therefore, we do not meet with any copper-plate grants issued by the Chalukyas; but Rashtrakuta plates belonging to the intervening period are met with from Radhanpur in Northern Gujrat to Samangad near Kolhapur. The grant of Kirtivarman II, from which the above account of that prince is taken, does not allude to the fact of his disgrace, but he must have lost possession of Maharashtra before Saka 679, the date of the grant The name of the Rashtrakuta monarch who first humbled the Chalukya was Dantidurga, and the work begun by him was completed by his successor Krishna In a copper-plate grant of the former found at Samangad he is spoken of as having become paramount sovereign after having vanquished Vallabha.[37] The date occurring in the grant is 675 Saka Before that time, therefore, the Chalukyas must have lost their hold over Maharashtra. In the Yevur tablet and the Miraj plates the Chalukyas are spoken of as having lost sovereign power in the reign of Kirtivarman II. We will therefore here close our account of the early Chalukyas.

[34] Ind. Ant, Vol. VIII, p. 26
[35] Ind. Ant., Vol X, p 165
[36] Ind Ant, Vol VIII, p 27
[37] Jour B B. R. A S., Vol II, p. 375

JAINISM UNDER THE CHALUKYAS

During the period occupied by the reigns of these early Chalukya princes, the Jaina religion comes into prominence along with a developed form of Puranic Brahmanism as well as the old Vedic religion. Ravikirti, the Jaina who composed the Aihole inscription and represents himself as a poet, was patronized by Pulakesi II, and Vikramaditya II. repaired a Jaina temple and gave a grant in connection with it to a learned Jaina of the name of Vijaya Pandit, who is represented to have silenced his opponents in argument and is styled the only disputant [38]

PURANIC GODS
CAVE ARCHITECTURE BUDDHISM

But Jainism in those days, as at present, probably flourished in the Southern Maratha Country only Temples in honour of the Puranic triad, Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesvara with a variety of names were constructed in many places The worship of Siva in his terrific form seems also to have prevailed, as the Nasik grant of Nagavardhana assigning a certain village to the worship of Kapalikeṣvara, or the god wearing a garland of skulls, would show And grants to Brahmans who knew the Vedas and Sastras are very common Cave architecture came to be used for the purposes of the Puranic religion about the time of the early princes of the dynasty, as we see from the cave-temple at Badami dedicated to the worship of Vishnu by Mangalisa No inscription has yet come to light showing any close relations between the Buddhists and the Chalukya princes But that the religion did prevail and that there were many Buddhist temples and monasteries are shown by the account given by Hwan Thsang Still there is little question that it was in a condition of decline The Chalukyas, like their predecessors in previous times, were tolerant towards all religions

[38] Ind Ant, Vol VII, p 107

Genealogy of the early Chalukyas

1. JAYASIMHA
   - 2. RANARAGA
     - 3. PULAKESI I.—Satyasraya Sri Pulakesi Vallabha.
       - 4. KIRTIVARMAN I., Saka 489—513 or A. D, 567—591.
         - 6. PULAKESI II.—Satyasraya Sri Prithvi-vallabha, began to reign in Saka 532 or A. D. 610, was on the throne in Saka 556 or A. D. 634, and seen by Hwan Thsang in A. D. 639.
           - Chandraditya.
           - 7. VIKRAMADITYA I., ceased to reign in Saka 602 or A. D. 680.
             - 8. VINAYADITYA, Saka 602—619 or A. D. 680—697.
               - 9. VIJAYADITYA, Saka 619—655 or A. D. 697—733.
                 - 10. VIKRAMADITYA II., Saka 655—669 or A. D. 733—747.
                   - 11. KIRTIVARMAN II., Saka 669 or A. D. 747, deprived of supreme sovereignty by Dantidurga before Saka 675 or A. D. 753.
           - Adityavarman.
           - Jayasimhavarman.
         - Vishnubardhana, founded the eastern Chalukya dynasty.
         - Jayasimha.
       - 5. MANGALISA, Saka 513—532 or A. D. 591—610.

SECTION XI

The Rashtrakutas

Govinda I, Karaka I, Indra II, Dantidurga

The earliest prince of this dynasty mentioned in the grants hitherto discovered is Govinda I. But in an inscription in the rock-cut temple of the Dasavataras at Elura the names of two earlier ones, Dantivarman and Indraraja, occur.[1] The latter was Govinda's father and the former his grandfather. Govinda I was probably the prince of that name who in Ravikirti's inscription at Aihole is spoken of as having attacked the Chalukya king Pulakesi II and to have afterwards become his ally Govinda was succeeded by his son Karka, during whose reign the Brahmans performed many sacrifices and who seems to have patronized the old Vedic religion. After him his son Indraraja came to the throne Indraraja married a girl who belonged to the Chalukya family, though on her mother's side she was connected with the lunar race, probably that of the Rashtrakutas themselves From this union sprang Dantidurga, who became king after his father. With a handful of soldiers Dantidurga defeated the army of Karnataka, which hitherto had achieved very great glory by vanquishing the forces of the kings of Kanchi, the Keralas, Cholas, and Pandyas, and of Sriharsha, the lord paramount of Northern India, and Vajrata ,[2] and thus conquered Vallabha or the last Chalukya king Kirtivarman II. with ease He thus acquired paramount sovereignty in the south[3] He also subdued the kings of Kanchi, Kalinga, Kosala, Sri-Saila,[4] Malava, Lata, and Tanka At Ujjayini he gave large quantities of gold and jewels in charity.[5] A grant of Dantidurga found at Samangad in the Kolhapur districts bears the date 675 of the Saka era, corresponding to A D 753.[6]

Krishnaraja

Dantidurga died childless according to a grant found at Karda,[7] and his paternal uncle Krishnaraja succeeded to the throne Another grant found at Baroda[8] omits the name of Danti-

[1] Arch Surv West Ind , No 10, pp 92—96
[2] The army of Karnataka was thus the army of the Chalukyas
[3] Samangad grant, p 375. Jour B B R A S Vol II
[4] This must have been the country about Sri Saila which contains the celebrated shrine of Mallikarjuna and which is situated on the lower Krishna in the Karnul district, Madras Presidency
[5] Arch Surv West Ind , No 10, *loc cit*
[6] Referred to above
[7] Jour R A S , Vol III
[8] Published in Jour. Beng A. S , Vol. VIII., pp 292—303

durga, since the object of the writer was simply to give the pedigree of the reigning monarch, with reference to whom Dantidurga was but a collateral. and not to give the names of all the previous kings. In that grant Krishnaraja is spoken of as having "rooted out" a prince belonging to the same family with him who had taken to evil ways and to have himself assumed the task of governing for the "benefit of his race." The prince dethroned or destroyed by Krishnaraja could not have been Dantidurga, as has been supposed by some writers, since he was a powerful monarch who for the first time acquired supreme sovereignty for his family. In a grant found at Kavi, Krishna is represented to have succeeded to the throne after Dantidurga's death.[9] The prince whom he set aside, therefore, must either have been a son of Dantidurga or some other person with a better claim to the throne than himself. The statement of the Karda plate that Dantidurga died childless may be discredited as being made two hundred years after the occurrence.

Temple of Siva at Elura excavated at the orders of Krishnaraja

Krishnaraja, otherwise called Subhatunga, carried on the work of Dantidurga and reduced the Chalukyas to complete subjection. In two of the grants[10] he is spoken of "as having with the aid of gods in the form of his counsellors or followers churned the ocean of the Chalukya race which had been resorted to by mountains in the shape of kings afraid of their wings or power being destroyed[11]—an ocean that was inaccessible to others,—and drew out from it the Lakshmi"[12] of paramount sovereignty He is said to have defeated Rahappa who was proud of his own power and prowess, and afterwards assumed the ensigns of supreme sovereignty[13] Who this person was we have not the means of determining. In the Baroda grant it is stated that Krishnaraja "caused to be con-

[9] See stanza 11 (p 146, Ind Ant, Vol V,) of the first half of which only तस्मिन्दिवं [गते] remains

[10] Vani-Dindori, Jour R A S., Vol. V, and Radhanpur, Ind Ant., Vol VI, p 65

[11] The legend is that in early times mountains had kings, and as they did considerable mischief by their use, Indra set about cutting them The mountains thereupon took refuge in the sea The story originated from the double sense which the word *parvata* bears in the Vedas It denotes "a mountain" and "a cloud" also. Indra was the god who prevented the clouds from flying from place to place, and compelled them to discharge their freight on the earth for the benefit of his human worshippers

[12] Vishnu churned the ocean with the aid of the gods and drew out Lakshmi from it, whom he married

[13] Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 182, l. 13

structed a temple of a wonderful form on the mountain at Elapura. When the gods moving in their aerial cars saw it they were struck with wonder and constantly thought much over the matter saying to themselves, 'This temple of Siva is self-existent; for such beauty is not to be found in a work of art.' Even the architect who constructed it was struck with wonder, saying when his heart misgave him as regards making another similar attempt, 'Wonderful! I do not know how it was that I could construct it.' King Krishna with his own hands again decorated Sambhu (Siva) placed in that temple, by means of gold, rubies and other precious jewels, though he had already been decorated by the wonderful artificial ornaments of the stream of the Ganga, the moon, and the deadly poison." The ending *pura* in the names of towns, when it undergoes a change at all, is invariably changed to *ur*, as in Sihur for Simhapura, Indur for Indrapura, Sirur for Sirahpura or Sripura, &c. The Elapura of the inscription, therefore, is Elur, and the temple described in the grant in such terms must be one of those excavated on the hills at the place, perhaps the temple of Kailasa itself[14] Thus it appears that it was Krishnaraja that caused the Kailasa to be constructed, and the date assigned to it by Fergusson and Burgess simply on architectural grounds is verified Krishnaraja must have reigned in the last quarter of the seventh century of the Saka era, *i e*, between 753 and 775 A D

GOVINDA II—DHRUVA

Krishnaraja was succeeded by his son Govinda II[15] Nothing particular is recorded of him in the grants, except, of course,

[14] Buhler in his paper in Vol VI, Ind Ant, simply states that the 'grant (Baroda) connects him (Krishnaraja) with the hill at Elapur, where he seems to have built a fort and a splendid temple of Siva' He has not identified Elapura and did not perceive the important significance of this and the next two stanzas He, however, suspected that one of the verses was badly deciphered That this and the following verses are somewhat badly deciphered there is no doubt, but the translation in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal is far worse and Bühler was misled by it. Fleet has recently published a revised translation (Ind Ant, Vol. XII, p 162), but as regards this passage it certainly is no improvement on the first He also once spoke of "a hill fort" (Ind Ant, Vol XI, p. 124), and now thinks Elapura is in the passage meant to be represented as Krishnaraja's "encampments" He identifies Elapura with Yellapur in the North Kanara districts But the manner in which the temple is described according to my translation and also the obvious derivation of Elur from Elapura, and Elura from Elapuraka, leave little doubt that a rock-cut temple at Elura is meant to be spoken of, and actually the existence of a Rashtrakuta inscription in one of the temples confirms my conclusion That my translation is correct and appropriate, I have shown in an article published in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII, p. 228, where the reader will find the point fully discussed

[15] The name of this prince is omitted in the Vani Dindori and

the general praise which is accorded to every prince, however weak and inglorious. It however appears from the Vani-Dindori and Radhanpur grants that he was superseded by his younger brother Dhruva, and the grants endeavour to palliate his crime in having thus usurped the throne. Dhruva, however, was an able and warlike prince. His other names were Nirupama or the "Matchless," Kalivallabha, and Dharavarsha. He humbled the Pallava king of Kanchi and obtained from him a tribute of elephants. He detained in custody the prince of the Ganga family, which ruled over the Chera country. He also carried his arms into the north against the king of the Vatsas, whose capital must have been Kausambi, the modern Kosam near Allahabad, and who had grown haughty by his conquest of a king of the Gauda country He drove the Vatsa prince into the impassable desert of Marvad and carried away the two state umbrellas which he had won from the Gauda king [16] A stone inscription at Pattadakal was incised in the reign of Nirupama There he is styled Dharavarsha and Kalivallabha [17]

GOVINDA III OR JAGATTUNGA I

Dhruva Nirupama was succeeded by his son Govinda III. The Radhanpur and Vani-Dindori grants were issued by him in the Saka year 730 corresponding to A.D. 808[18] while he was at Mayurakhandi This place has been identified with a hill-fort in the Nasik territory of the name of Morkhand. Whether Mayurakhandi was the capital of the dynasty in the time of this king cannot be satisfactorily determined Govinda III was certainly one of the greatest of the Rashtrakuta princes, and the statement in his grant that during his time the Rashtrakutas became invincible, as the Yadavas of Puranic history did when under the guidance of Krishna, appears credible Seeing he had grown up to be a brave prince his father proposed to abdicate the throne in his favour ; but he declined, expressing himself perfectly satisfied with his position as Yuvaraja or prince-regent [19]

Radhanpur grants, for the same reason apparently as that for which Dantidurga's is omitted in the Baroda grant, but he is alluded to when they state that Dhruva or Nirupama set aside his elder brother

[16] Vani Dindori and Radhanpur plates

[17] Ind. Ant., Vol XI, p 125

[18] The Samvatsara or cyclic year given in the first is *Sarvajit*, the current Saka year corresponding to which was 730, while in the second it is *Vyaya* corresponding to 729 current As regards the exact signification to be attached to these dates, see Appendix B

[19] The Kavi grant, however, states that the father did raise him to the supreme sovereignty which his enemies were endeavouring to deprive his

When after his father's death he ascended the throne, twelve kings united their forces and rose against him, desirous of striking an effectual blow at the power of the Rashtrakutas But alone and unassisted, he by his personal valour suddenly inflicted a crushing defeat on them and broke the confederacy. He released the Ganga prince of Chera, who had been kept in custody by his father, but no sooner did he go back to his native country than he put himself into an attitude of hostility But Govinda III immediately vanquished him, and threw him into captivity again Subsequently he marched against the Gurjara king, who fled away at his approach Thence he proceeded to Malva, the king of which country knowing himself to be unable to resist his power surrendered to him After receiving his obeisance he directed his march to the Vindhyas When Marasarva, the ruler of the adjoining country, who had been watching his movements, heard from his spies that Govinda's army had encamped on the slopes of that mountain, he went up to him, and throwing himself at his feet presented to him his most highly valued heirlooms which no other prince had ever got before On this occasion Govinda spent the rainy season at a place called Sribhavana, which has not been identified When the rains were over, he marched with his army to the Tungabhadra, where he stayed for a short time, and brought the Pallava king of Kanchi under a more complete subjection than before Thence he sent a message to the king of Vengi, or the country between the lower Krishna and the Godavari, who probably belonged to the eastern Chalukya dynasty, and he came and attended on him as if he were his servant[20] This grand victorious march to the north and the south must have taken place before Saka 726 or A D 804 For in a copper-plate grant bearing that date found in the Kanarese country, it is stated that when the king (Govinda III) "having conquered Dantiga who ruled over Kanchi, had come to levy tribute, and when his encampments were on the banks of the Tungabhadra," he allotted some lands to one Sivadhari at a holy place named Ramesvara[21]

Govinda III thus acquired a large extent of territory and established his supremacy over a number of kings He appears

family of, i e, when he found the enemies of his family too powerful for him, he raised his son to the throne and assigned to him the task of suppressing them Ind Ant Vol V, p 147, v 27 The reading, however, is somewhat corrupt The enemies spoken of here must be those twelve whom he is represented to have vanquished in the other grants

[20] Vani Dindori and Radhanpur plates

[21] Ind Ant Vol XI, pp 126-7

to have become the paramount sovereign of the whole country from Malva in the north to Kanchipura in the south and to have under his immediate sway the country between the Narmada and the Tungabhadra. The Vani-Dindori plates convey a village situated in the Nasik district, while those found in the Kanarese country assign some land near the Tungabhadra. The province of Lata, situated between the Mahi and the lower Tapi, was assigned by him to his brother Indra,[22] who became the founder of another branch of the dynasty. Govinda III, as stated in the Baroda grant, made and unmade kings. His secondary names as found in his own grants were Prabhutavarsha or "Raining profusely," Prithvi-vallabha or "the Lover of the Earth," and Sri-Vallabha. Others will be noticed below. The Baroda grant was issued by Karka, the son of Govinda's brother Indra, the king of Lata, in Saka 734 or A.D. 812, and the Kavi grant by Govinda the younger brother of Karka, in Saka 749 or A.D. 827. We need not notice these princes further, since they belong more to the history of Gujarat than of the Dekkan.

The authorities for the history of the later princes of this dynasty are three copper-plate grants found at Sangali, Karda and Kharepatan.[23] These do not give many details that may be relied on as historical, and at first sight there appear some inconsistencies in the genealogy found in them. Several scholars have endeavoured to reconcile them in their own ways, or to explain them by making certain suppositions, but it does not appear a difficult task to make out a consistent genealogy. We have a few stone inscriptions containing the names of one or two princes, and a copper-plate grant found at Surat which stops at the successor of Govind III, while stray notices of some kings have been discovered in Jaina works.

SARVA OR AMOGHAVARSHA I

In two of the grants just mentioned, the son and successor of Nirupama is stated to be Jagattunga, while in that found at Karda he is called Jagadrudra. Now, since Govinda III was one of the greatest princes of this dynasty, it is impossible that he should have been passed over by the writers of these grants. Jagattunga or Jagadrudra, therefore, the son of Nirupama, must be Govinda himself and no other. After his death his son Amoghavarsha, whose proper name appears to have been

[22] Kavi plate, Ind. Ant., Vol. V., p. 147, v. 29; Baroda grant, Jour. Beng. A. S., Vol. VIII, p. 296, v. 21, in which तद्दा ought to be तद्दत्त as in the Kavi.

[23] In Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV, p. 111; Jour. R. A. S., Vol. III,

Sarva,[24] came to the throne. He seems to have marched against the Chalukyas of Vengi and put several of the princes to death.[25] In the Karda grant the city of Manyakheta is spoken of as being in a very flourishing condition in his time. There is little question that it was his capital; but whether it was he who founded it and made it the capital of the dynasty cannot be clearly made out, as the reading given by Wathen is corrupt. But it is very probable that Manyakheta became the capital of the empire in his time. Manyakheta has been properly identified with Malkhed in the Nizam's territory. In the Kanheri caves there are three inscriptions, in which the reigning paramount sovereign is represented to be Amoghavarsha. In one of them Pullasakti of the Silahara family, and in the other two his son Kapardin, are mentioned as his dependents ruling over Konkan, which province had been assigned to them by Amoghavarsha. The dates occurring in the last two are Saka 775 and 799.[26] In a historical appendix at the end of a Jaina work entitled Uttarapurana, or the latter half of the Mahapurana, by Gunabhadra, Amoghavarsha is represented to have been a devoted worshipper of a holy Jaina saint named Jinasena, who was the preceptor of Gunabhadra and wrote the Adipurana or the first part of the same work.[27]

p. 94, and Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I, p. 217, respectively. The original plates of this last are now in my possession.

[24] Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 183, l. 25.

[25] Sangali plates. But the reading is somewhat corrupt.

[26] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI, West's copies Nos. 15 and 42; Vol. XIII, p. 11, and Kielhorn's paper, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 133. The cyclic year given with 775 is *Prajapati*, the current Saka year corresponding to which, however, was 774. See Appendix B.

[27] One copy of the whole of this Purana and another of the last three Parvanas or sections have been purchased by me for Government this year. The stanza in which Amoghavarsha is alluded to is this:

यस्य प्रांशुनखांशुजालविसरद्धारान्तराविर्भव-

त्पादाम्भोजरजःपिशङ्गमुकुटप्रत्यग्ररत्नद्युतिः ।

संस्मर्ता स्वममोघवर्षनृपतिः पूतोऽहमद्येत्यलं

स श्रीमाञ्जिनसेनपूज्यभगवत्पादो जगन्मङ्गलम् ॥

"The king Amoghavarsha remembered himself to have been purified that day when the lustre of the gems was heightened in consequence of his diadem becoming reddish by the dust pollen of [Jinasena's] foot-lotuses appearing in the stream [of waterlike lustre] flowing from the collection of the brilliant rays of his nails,—enough—that prosperous Jinasena with the worshipful and revered feet is the blessing of the world."

KRISHNA II OR AKALAVARSHA

Amoghavarsha's son and successor was Akalavarsha. He married the daughter of Kokkala, king of Chedi, who belonged to the Haihaya race, and by her had a son named Jagattunga or Jagadrudra. Akalavarsha's proper name seems from the Karda plates to have been Krishna He is the Krishnaraja during whose reign a tributary chief of the name of Prithvirama made a grant of land to a Jaina temple which he had caused to be constructed in the Saka year 797 at Saundatti.[28] Another Jaina temple was built by a Vaisya or Bania named Chikarya during his reign in Saka 824 at Mulgunda in the Dharvad district, and in the inscription which records this fact he is styled Krishna Vallabha[29]

In the reign of this prince the Jaina Purana noticed above was completed by Gunabhadra and consecrated in Saka 820, the cyclic year being Pingala[30] In the historical appendix, "the lofty elephants of Akalavarsha" are represented "to have drunk the waters of the Ganges rendered fragrant by being mixed with the humour flowing from their temples, and, as if not having their thirst quenched, to have resorted to the Kaumara forest (in the extreme south), which was full of sandal trees set in gentle motion by the breezes blowing over the sea waves, and into the shade of which the rays of the sun

[28] Jour B B R A S, Vol X, p 200 The cyclic year mentioned is Manmatha, which followed next after Saka 797.

[29] *Ib*, p 192 The cyclic year is Dundubhi, which fell in 825 current.

[30] अकालवर्षभूपाले पालयत्यखिलामिलाम् ।
तस्मिन्विध्वस्तनिःशेषद्विषि वीध्रयशोजुषि ॥
धर्म *v. l.*

*   *   *   *

शकनृपकालाभ्यन्तरविंशत्यधिकाष्टशतमिताब्दान्ते ।
मङ्गलमहार्थकारिणि पिङ्गलनामनि समस्तजनसुखदे ॥

*   *   *   *

निष्ठितं भव्यवर्यैः
प्राप्तेज्यं शास्त्रसारं जगति विजयते पुण्यमेतत्पुराणम् ॥

"Victorious in the world is this holy Purana, the essence of the Sastras which was finished and worshipped by the best among respectable [men]* * * in the year Pingala that brings about great prosperity and confers happiness on all mankind, at the end of the year measured by 820 of the era of the Saka king * * *, while that king Akalavarsha, all of whose enemies were destroyed and whose fame was pure (or who acquired religious merit and fame), was protecting the whole earth"

The cyclic year Pingala corresponded to 820 Saka *current* and followed next after the year 819

did not penetrate "[31] The date 833 Saka has also been assigned to Akalavarsha [32]

Jagattunga II, Indra III, Amoghavarsha II and Govinda IV

Jagattunga became king after his father He married Lakshmi, the daughter of his maternal uncle, the son of Kokkala, who is called Ranavigraha in the Sangali grant and Samkaragana in the Karda plates From this union sprang Indra, who succeeded his father Jagattunga is not here mentioned in the Kharepatan grant, but Indra is noticed as the grandson of Akalavarsha, as he really was The prince, however, is mentioned in the plates in another connection below. As regards the next king there is some confusion in the Karda plates, which is partly due to the bad deciphering and translation The Sangali grant however is clear Indra married a lady from the Haihaya family of Chedi again Her name was Vijamba and she was the daughter of Anganadeva, the son of Arjuna, who was the eldest son of Kokkala, mentioned above By her Indra had a son named Govinda, who is the last king noticed in the Sangali grant, since it was issued by him But according to the Kharepatan grant Govinda was the younger brother of a prince named Amoghavarsha [33] The immediate successor of Indra, therefore, was Amoghavarsha, and after him his younger brother Govinda came to the throne And this is confirmed by the Karda plates also Amoghavarsha and Govinda are there mentioned as the two sons of Amba, who is the same as the Vijamba of the Sangali plate But the translator of the grant understood Govinda and Amba as forming one compound, and called the lady Govindamba, which certainly is an unique name and strikes one as absurd Thus he dropped king Govinda altogether, and he was followed by all subsequent writers [34]

[31]

यस्योत्तुङ्गमतङ्गजा निजमदस्रोतास्विनीसंगमा-
द्गाङ्गं वारि कलङ्कितं कटु मुहु पीत्वाप्यगच्छत्तृष. ।
कौमारं घनचन्दनं वनमपांपत्युस्तरंगानिलै-
र्मन्दान्दोलितमस्तभास्करकरच्छायं समाशिश्रियन ॥

[32] Ind Ant, Vol XI, p 109

[33] Fleet in his genealogical table at p 109, Vol XI, Ind Ant, speaks of Govinda's brother as *unnamed* But he is named Amoghavarsha in the Kharepatan grant, and also in that of Karda if properly under-stood

[34] The 14th stanzt, the latter part of which I have construed as in the text, is चैद्यां मातुलशंकरगणात्मजायामभूज्जगद्रुद्रात् । श्रीमानमोघवर्षो गोविन्दांबाभिधानायां । Now, the first line of this is, as it stands out of place and must contain

The Sangali plate of Govinda the Fourth, as he must be called, does not mention his elder brother Amoghavarsha by name; and the reason is obvious. Amoghavarsha was deposed by Govinda, who usurped the throne This circumstance is alluded to in his grant, which states that "though Govinda had the power, he did not act with any reprehensible cruelty towards his elder brother, and did not render himself infamous by incest, or assume the nature of a devil by casting aside considerations of purity and impurity, but became Sahasanka by his matchless enterprise and liberality." Probably the sins which are pointedly denied in the case of Govinda were laid to his brother's charge, and they are alluded to in order to excuse his conduct in having dethroned him, and even credit is given to the king for not having used such severity towards his brother as in the opinion of the writer he deserved Govinda seems also from this passage to have been called Sahasanka, while below is given another of his names, *viz.*, Suvarnavarsha (Raining gold) Govinda is said to have been a bountiful prince and to have constructed a good many temples of Siva His grant was issued in Saka 855, or A D 933, in the Viaya[35] year of the cycle, while he was at his capital Manyakheta

Baddiga or Amoghavarsha III, Krishna III and Khotika

From the Kharepatan plates it appears that Govinda IV was succeeded by his paternal uncle Baddiga, the second son of Jagattunga He is represented to have been a virtuous prince

some mistakes For, (1) it contains, in substance, a repetition of what we have in the first line of stanza 12, and (2) if it is read here as it is, we shall have to make Amba a wife of Jagadrudra along with Lakshmi, who has been represented as his wife in stanza 12, and understand her to be Lakshmi's sister, the father of both being Samkaragana But Amba or Vijamba is in the Sangali grant clearly spoken of as the daughter of Anganadeva, the son of Arjuna, who was the brother of Ranavigraha, the father of Lakshmi, that is, Amba was the daughter of Lakshmi's first cousin She is also distinctly represented as the wife of Indra and the mother of Govinda IV If, however, this first line were not read here, the second would be applicable to the king mentioned immediately before *i e*, Indra, and the whole would be consistent with the information derived from the Sangali grant The emendation I make in the second line is to read न्द्रौ for न्द्रां, and then Amba would be released from her incongruous association with Govinda and the whole would be consistent and intelligible

Fleet along with others, following Wathen, calls her Govindamba and makes her the wife of Jagadrudra There is no doubt the text of the Karda grant is corrupt But whether this is due to the bad deciphering, or to the mistake of the engraver or the composer, cannot be decided until the original is re-examined

[35] The current Saka year was 856.

He was succeeded by his son Krishnaraja, and after his death his younger brother Khotika became king The Karda grant is somewhat confusing here, but when properly understood it is perfectly consistent with that of Kharepatan. It states : "When the elder brother Krishnarajadeva went to heaven, Khotvigadeva, who was begotten by the king Amoghavarsha on Kandakadevi, the daughter of Yuvaraja, became king."[36] Here the expression "elder brother" must be taken as related to Khotvigadeva and not to the preceding king,[37] whoever he may have been Khotika therefore was, even according to the Karda grant, the younger brother of Krishnaraja But he is represented to have been the son of Amoghavarsha, while Krishnaraja is spoken of in the Kharepatan plates as the son of Baddiga In an inscription at Salotgi, Krishnaraja, the son of Amoghavarsha, is represented to have been reigning at Manyakheta in 867 Saka,[38] that is, twelve years after the Sangali grant of Govinda IV was issued He must have been the same prince as that mentioned in the grants we have been examining For the Krishna of these was the second king after Govinda IV His father Baddiga, who was Govinda's uncle, must have been an old man when he succeeded, and consequently must have reigned for a very short time Hence his son Krishna came to be king within twelve years after Govinda's grant, and there is no other Krishna mentioned in the grants who is likely to have been on the throne in 867 Saka Another date, 878 Saka, has been assigned to him[39] If, then, the Krishna of the grants is the same as the Krishna of the Salotgi inscription, here we have evidence that his father's name was Amoghavarsha, so that the Baddiga of the Kharepatan plates was the same as the Amoghavarsha of the Karda plates Krishnaraja and Khotika were thus brothers, and it would appear from the wording of the statement in the Karda plates that they were the sons of the same father but of different mothers.[40]

[36] ऐन्द्रपदजिगीषयेव स्वर्गमधिरूढे च ज्येष्ठे भ्रातरि श्रीमत्कृष्णराजदेवे ॥
युवराजदेवदुहितरि कन्दकदेव्याममोघवर्षनृपा-
जातः खोट्टिगदेवो नृपतिरभूद्भुवनविख्यातः ॥ १६ ॥

[37] For, the clause containing that expression is dependent on the principal sentence, which is in the next or 16th stanza and the subject of which is Khotvigadeva *See* the passage in the last note

[38] Ind. Ant , Vol I , p 205, *et seq* The cyclic year given is Plavanga, which followed next after Saka 869 and the current year corresponding to which was 870

[39] Ind Ant , Vol XI , p 109

[40] Fleet, following Wathen's translation, makes Krishna, whom he

Kakkala or Karka II : Overthrow of the Rashtrakutas

Khotika was succeeded, according to the Kharepatan grant, by Kakkala, the son of his brother. The name of this brother was Nirupama according to the Karda grant Kakkala is said to have been a brave soldier ; but he was conquered in battle by Tailapa, who belonged to the Chalukya race, and thus the sovereignty of the Dekkan passed from the hands of the Rashtrakutas once more into those of the Chalukyas. The Karda grant, which was made in the reign of Kakkala, is dated Saka 894 or A D. 972, and in the following year or Saka 895 Tailapa attained sovereign power[41] The Rashtrakutas were thus supreme masters of this country from about A.D. 748 to A.D 973, that is, for nearly two hundred and twenty-five years.

Religion under the Rashtrakutas

That the princes of this race were very powerful there can be little doubt The rock-cut temples at Elura still attest their

calls Krishna III , the elder brother of Amoghavarsha and thus a son of Jagattunga II But in the Kharepatan grant he is distinctly represented as the son of Baddiga, who was the son of Jagattunga, and thus a grand son of Jagattunga II He is also represented as Khotika's elder brother. I have shown in the text that the expression " elder brother, " occurring in the Karda grant, should by the rules of construction be taken as referring to Khotviga and in this way that grant becomes perfectly consistent with that of Kharepatan The Amoghavarsha who was the son of Jagattunga is that spoken of in the sixteenth stanza of the Karda grant, and was different from the one mentioned in the fourteenth, who was the son of Indra and nephew of that Amoghavarsha, as I have shown above Fleet brings in another Krishna and makes him the younger brother of Khotika, and identifies him with Nirupama (see the text below) What his authority is I do not know But the Kharepatan grant mentions one Krishna only, the elder brother of Khotika and son of Baddiga The Karda also mentions one only, and as to his relation with the other princes I have shown that that grant agrees with the Kharepatan plates The Krishna of the Salotgi inscription is to be identified with the elder brother of Khotika and is not to be considered a different prince unalluded to in the grants Nirupama, the younger brother of Khotika, is not and cannot have been called Krishna because his elder brother and the elder brother of Khotika was called Krishna Nirupama does not appear to have been a reigning prince, for in the Karda plates he is only parenthetically introduced as the father of Kakka, who was a reigning prince , and in the Kharepatan grant he is not mentioned at all by name, but Kakkala is said to be the son of the brother of Khotika Krishna, on the other hand, was on the throne in 867 Saka according to the Salotgi inscription and was a reigning prince according to the grants Thus then Krishna was the eldest brother, Khotika the next, and Nirupama the youngest They were the sons of Amoghavarsha, the same as the Baddiga of the Khadepatan grant In this whole investigation I have found that the apparent inconsistencies and confusion are due only to the Karda plates, which must be revised if they are available and retranslated

[41] The cyclic years mentioned along with these two dates are Angiras

power and magnificence. Under them the worship of the Puranic gods rose into much greater importance than before. The days when kings and princes got temples and monasteries cut out of the solid rock for the use of the followers of Gotama Buddha had gone by, never to return. Instead of them we have during this period temples excavated or constructed on a more magnificent scale and dedicated to the worship of Siva and Vishnu. Several of the grants of these Rashtrakuta princes praise their bounty and mention their having constructed temples. Still, as the Kanheri inscriptions of the reign of Amoghavarsha I show, Buddhism had its votaries and benefactors, though the religion had evidently sunk into unimportance. Jainism, on the other hand, retained the prominence it had acquired during the Chalukya period, or even made greater progress. Amoghavarsha was, as we have seen, favourably disposed towards it, and some of the minor chiefs and the lower castes, especially the traders, were its devoted adherents. The from of Jainism that prevailed in the country was mostly that professed by the Digambara sect.

KRISHNA OF THE RASHTRAKUTA RACE, THE HERO OF THE *Kavirahasya*

It is remarkable that, unlike the grants of the early Chalukya princes, those of the Rashtrakutas contain accounts in verse of the ancestors of the grantor, and most of the verses are of the nature of those we find in the ordinary artificial poems in Sanskrit literature, possessing the same merits and faults. The Rashtrakutas, therefore, must have been patrons of learing, and probably had poets in their service. One of the three Krishnas belonging to the dynasty is the hero of an artificial poem by Halayudha entitled the *Kavirahasya*, the purpose of which is to explain the distinction as regards sense and conjugational peculiarities between roots having the same external form. He is spoken of as the paramount sovereign of Dakshinapatha.[42] Westergaard, however, thought him to be the Krishnaraya of the Vijayanagar dynasty who reigned in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. But in the *Kavirahasya* he is spoken of in one place as "having sprung from the

and Srimukha respectively, the current Saka years corresponding to which were 895 and 896.

[42] अस्त्यगस्त्यमुनिज्योत्स्नापवित्रे दक्षिणापथे ।
कृष्णराज इति ख्यातो राजा साम्राज्यदीक्षितः ॥

"In Dakshinapatha, which is rendered holy by the light of the sage Agastya, there was a king of the name of Krishnaraja who was crowned as a paramount sovereign."

Rashtrakuta race,"[43] and his is in antoher called "the ornament of the lunar race,"[44] which description is of course not applicable to the Vijayanagar prince

BALHARAS IDENTIFIED WITH THE RASHTRAKUTAS

Arabic travellers of the tenth century mention a powerful dynasty of the name of Balharas who ruled at a place called Mankir. The name of the city would show that the Rashtrakutas, whose capital was Manyakheta or Mankhed, were meant. But Balhara, the name of the dynasty, has not been identified with any that might be considered to be applicable to the Rashtrakutas But to me the identification does not appear difficult The Rashtrakutas appear clearly to have assumed the title of *Vallabha* which was used by their predecessors the Chalukyas In an inscription on a stone tablet at Lakshmesvar, Govinda III is called *Sri-Vallabha,*[45] while in the Radhanpur plates he is spoken of as *Vallabha-narendra* In the Sangali and Karda grants also the reigning king is styled Vallabha-narendra, while in other inscriptions we find the title *Prithivivallabha* alone used Now Vallabha-narendra means "the king Vallabha," and is the same as *Vallabharaja,* the words *raja* (*n*) and *narendra* both denoting "a king" Vallabha-raja should, by the rules of Prakrit or vernacular pronunciation, became *Vallabha-ray, Ballaha-ray,* or *Balha-ray* This last is the same as the Balhar of the Arabs

The genealogy of the Rashtrakutas is shown in the following table

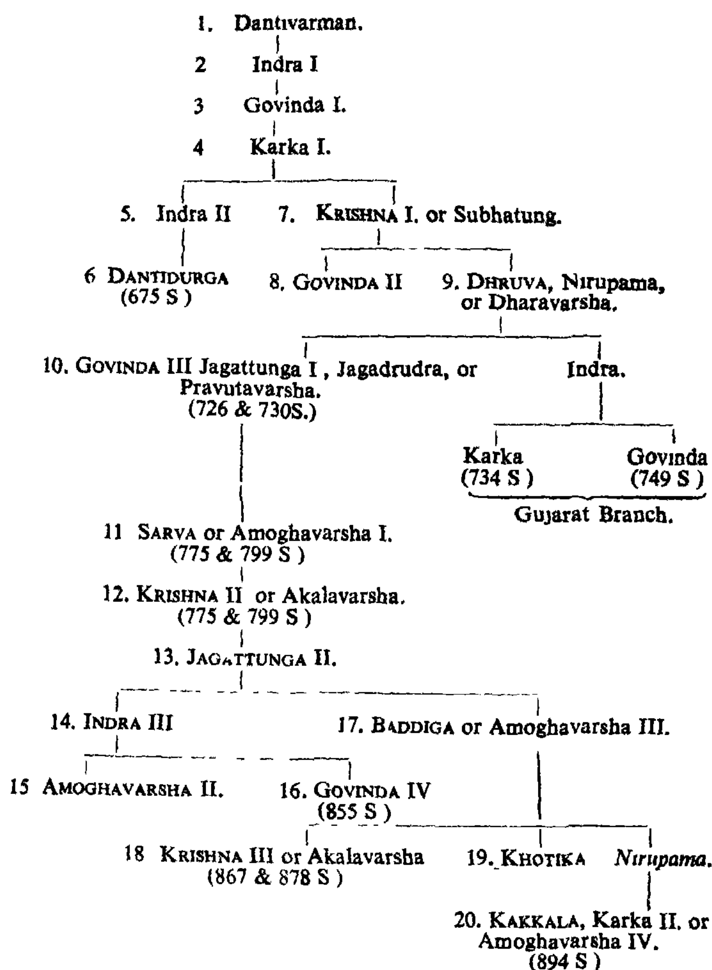
[43] तोलयत्यतुल शक्त्या यो भारं भुवनेश्वरः ।
कस्तं तुलयति स्थाम्ना राष्ट्रकूटकुलोद्भवम् ॥

"Who will equal in strength that lord of the world sprung from the Rashtrakuta race, who by his power bears an incomparable burden ?"

[44] सोमं सुनोति यज्ञेषु सोमवंशविभूषणः

That ornament of the lunar race extracts the juice of Soma in sacrifices "

[45] Ind Ant, Vol XI, p 156



(*a*) The names of those who were supreme sovereigns in the Dekkan are printed in capitals.

(*b*) The names of those who were kings before the attainment of supreme power are printed in small letters

(*c*) The order of succession is represented by the numbers

(*d*) The name of the father of Kakkala, who does not appear to have ascended the throne at all, has been printed in Italics

SECTION XII

The Later Chalukyas

We left the history of the kings of the Chalukya race at Kirtivarman II Between him and Tailapa, who wrested the supreme sovereignty of the Dekkan from Kakkala, the last of the Rashtrakuta kings, the Miraj copper-plate grant and the Yevur tablet place six kings Kirtivarman ascended the throne in Saka 669 and was reigning in 679, before which time he had been reduced to the condition of a minor chief; and Tailapa regained sovereign power in 895 Saka [1] We have thus seven princes only between 669 and 895, *i e*, for 226 years. This gives an average reign of 32 years to each, which is far too much This was the darkest period in the history of the Chalukya dynasty, and probably no correct account of the succession was kept Where the dynasty reigned and what the extent of its power was cannot be satisfactorily determined in the absence of the usual contemporary evidence, viz., inscriptions

The later Chalukya dynasty, not a continuation of the earlier

There must have been several branches of the Chalukya family, and it is even a question whether Tailapa sprang from the main branch I am inclined to believe that he belonged to quite a collateral and unimportant branch, and that the main branch became extinct For the princes of the earlier dynasty always traced their descent to Hariti and spoke of themselves as belonging to the Manavya race ; while these later Chalukyas traced their pedigree to Satyasraya only, and those two names do not occur in their inscriptions except in the Miraj grant and its copies, where an effort is made to begin at the beginning. But evidently the writer of that grant had not sufficient materials at his disposal, since, as above stated, he places six princes only between Kirtivarman II and Tailapa There is little question that there was no continuity of tradition The titles Jagadekamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, &c., which the later Chalukyas assumed, mark them off distinctively from princes of the earlier dynasty, who had none like them In a copper-plate grant dated Saka 735 found in Maisur a Chalukya prince of the name of Vimaladitya, the son of Yasovarman and grandson of Balavarman, is mentioned To ward off the evil influence of Sultan from Vimaladitya, a village was granted to a Jaina sage on behalf of a Jaina temple by Govinda III.,

[1] Jour R. A S, Vol. IV, p 4

the Rashtrakuta king, at the request of Chakiraja of the Ganga family, the maternal uncle of Vimaladitya.[2] These three Chalukya names do not occur in the usual genealogy of the family. This therefore appears to have been an independent branch.

A Chalukya prince mentioned in a Vedantic work

At the end of a work entitled Samkshepasariraka, the author Sarvajnatman, the pupil of Suresvara, who himself was a pupil of the great Samkaracharya, states that he composed it while "the prosperous king of the Kshatriya race, the Aditya (sun) of the race of Manu whose orders were never disobeyed, was ruling over the earth".[3] This description would apply with propriety to such a king as Vikramaditya I, Vinayaditya, Vijayaditya, or Vikramaditya II of the early Chalukya dynasty, since they were very powerful princes and were "Adityas of the race of Manu". For the Manavya race to which they belonged may be understood as "the race of Manu". But Samkaracharya is said to have lived between Saka 710 and 742, wherefore his grand-pupil must have flourished about the year 800 of that era, while Vikramaditya II, the latest of the four, ceased to reign in 669 Saka. Supposing then that the date assigned to Samkaracharya is correct, the king meant by Sarvajnatman must be one of those placed by the Miraj grant between Kirtivarman II and Tailapa. He may be Vikramaditya, the third prince after Kirtivarman II,[4] but if the description is considered hardly applicable to a minor chief, Samkaracharya's date must be pushed backwards so as to place the pupil of his pupil in the reign of one of the four princes of the early Chalukya dynasty mentioned above.

Tailapa's Expeditions

Tailapa seems to have carried his arms into the country of the Cholas[5] and humbled the king of Chedi.[6] He despatched an

[2] Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 11

[3] श्रीदेवेश्वरपादपङ्कजरजः संपर्कपूताशयः
सर्वज्ञात्मगिराङ्कितो मुनिवरः संक्षेपशारीरकम् ।
चक्रे सज्जनबुद्धिवर्धनमिदं राजन्यवंश्ये नृपे
श्रीमत्यक्षतशासने मनुकुलादित्ये भुवं शासति ॥

The Devesvara spoken of in the first line is Suresvara, the pupil of Samkaracharya

[4] See the genealogy at the end of this Section [5] Ind Ant., Vol V, p 17

[6] Ind Ant., Vol VIII, p 15

expedition into Gujarat, under a general of the name of Barapa, against Mularaja, the founder of the Chalukya dynasty of Anahilapattana, who for some time was hard pressed, but according to the Gujarat chroniclers the genreal was eventually defeated with slaughter.[7] Somesvara, the author of the Kirtikaumudi, speaks of Barapa as the general of the lord of Lata, from which it would appear that Tailapa was in possession of that country[8] Tailapa invaded Malva also, which at this time was governed by Munja, the uncle of the celebrated Bhoja. Munja, instead of strictly confining himself to the defensive, took the offensive, and, against the counsels of his aged minister Rudraditya, crossed the Godavari with a large army. He was encountered by Tailapa, who inflicted a crushing defeat on him and took him prisoner At first Munja was treated with consideration by his captor, but an attempt to effect his escape having been detected, he was subjected to indignities, made to beg from door to door, and finally beheaded.[9] This event is alluded to in one of Tailapa's inscriptions.[10] Tailapa reigned for twenty-four years[11] One of his feudatory chiefs granted a piece of land to a Jaina temple that he had constructed at Saundatti[12] in the Belgaum district, in the year 902 Saka or A D. 980.

SATYASRAYA

Tailapa married Jakabba, the daughter of the last Rashtrakuta king, and had by her two sons, whose names were Satyasraya and Dasavarman[13] The former succeeded him in 919 Saka or A D 997. Nothing particular is mentioned of him in any of the inscriptions The Kharepatan grant, which we have so often referred to, was issued in his reign in Saka 930 by a dependent chief of the Silahara family which ruled over southern Konkan[14]

VIKRAMADITYA I & JAYASIMHA

Satyasraya died without issue and was succeeded by Vikramaditya I,[15] the son of his younger brother Dasavarman by his

[7] Rasa Mala, Chap IV, p 38, new Ed
[8] Kirtikaumudi II, 3
[9] Merutunga's Bhojaprabandha and Bhojacharitra by Rajavallabha
[10] Jour R A S., Vol IV., p 12 [11] *Ib*, p 4.
[12] Jour. B B R A. S., Vol X, p 210
[13] Miraj plates; Jour R A S, Vol III, p 262, st. 30-35; Ind. Ant, Vol. VIII, pp 15-17 [14] Jour B B R A S, Vol I, p 209.
[15] I call him Vikramaditya I. and not Vikramaditya V as other do, because I would keep the two dynasties distinct for the reasons given in the text above I shall call Vikramaditya Tribhuvanamalla, Vikramaditya II., an so on.

wife Bhagavati. The earliest of his inscriptions is dated Saka 930, which is also the latest date of his predecessor. He therefore succeeded to the throne in that year, *i.e.*, in 1008 A. D., and appears to have reigned for only a short time.[16] He was succeeded by his brother Jayasimha or Jagadekamalla, who in an inscription dated 941 Saka, *i e*, 1019 A. D., is represented to have put to flight or broken the confederacy of Malava and is styled "the moon of the lotus which was king Bhoja," that is, one who humbled him.[17] He is also spoken of as having beaten the Cholas and the Cheras The Miraj grant was executed by him five years later, *i.e.*, in Saka 946, when "after having subdued the powerful Chola, the lord of the Dramila country, and taken away everything belonging to the ruler of the seven Konkans, he had encamped with his victorious army at Kolhapur in the course of a march to the northern countries to vanquish them "[18]

SOMESVARA OR AHAVAMALLA

Jayasimha ceased to reign in 962 Saka, or 1040 A D., and was succeeded by his son Somesvara I, who assumed the titles of Ahavamalla and Trailokyamalla. As usual with the Chalukya princes, the first enemy he had to turn his arms against was the king of the Cholas [19] He is then represented by Bilhana to have marched against Dhara, the capital of Bhoja, and captured it. Bhoja was compelled to abandon the city These hostilities with the king of Malva seem to have been inherited by this king and his predecessor from Tailapa, who had caused Munja to be put to death Bhoja was but a boy when this event took place It is narrated in the Bhojacharitra that after he had come of age and begun to administer the affairs of his kingdom, on one occasion a dramatic play representing the fate of Munja was acted before him, and thereupon he resolved to avenge his uncle's death He invaded the Dekkan with a large army, captured Tailapa, subjected him to the same indignities to which Munja had been subjected by him, and finally executed him [20] Bhoja, who ruled over Malva

[16] Jour R A. S, Vol IV, p 4 [17] Ind Ant, Vol V, p 17

[18] *Loc cit* Dramila is another form of Dravida There is some mistake here in the original The letters are यंचंद्रमिलाधिपतिं Fleet takes यं as one word and चंद्रमिलाधिपतिं as another, but यं cannot be construed and Chandramila is unknown The first word must be यंचं, a mistake for some such word as न्यंचं "down," "below," and the second *Dramiladhipatim*

[19] Bilhana's Vikramanka Charitra, I, 90; Jour R A S, Vol IV, p 13

[20] Bhojacharitra, I, 50-56

for about fifty-three years, was but a minor when Munja died. Munja was on the throne in 994 A.D.,[21] while Tailapa died or ceased to reign in 997 A.D. He must therefore have been slain by the latter between 994 and 997 A.D., and Tailapa did not survive Munja for a sufficiently long time to allow of Bhoja's attaining majority and fighting with him. Hence Bhoja could not have wreaked vengeance on Tailapa. But the wars of Jayasimha and Somesvara I with him show that the tradition recorded in the Bhojacharitra must have been correct to this extent, that to avenge his uncle's death the king of Malva formed a confederacy with some neighbouring princes and attacked the dominions of the Chalukyas. Perhaps he captured Vikramaditya I., of whom we know so little, and put him to death. It was probably on that account that Jayasimha took arms against him and broke the confederacy, as represented in the inscription dated 941 Saka.

Attack against Dahala and the southern countries

After some time Somesvara attacked Chedi or Dahala, the capital of which was Tevur or Tripura, and deposed or slew Karna[22] King Bhoja must have died before this event; for, just about the time of his death, Karna had formed a confederacy with Bhimadeva I of Gujarat with a view to attack Malva from two sides, and sacked Dhara after his death.[23] Bilhana next represents the Chalukya prince to have marched against the countries on the sea-coast, probably the western. These he conquered, and having erected a triumphal column there, proceeded by the sea-shore to the extremity of the peninsula. In his progress through that part of the country the king of the Dravidas or Cholas attacked him, but was defeated. Somesvara thereupon proceeded to his capital Kanchi, which he captured, and the Chola king had to flee away to save his life.[24] Ahavamalla's operations against Bhoja and the Cholas are alluded to in an inscription, and he is also represented to have fought with the king of Kanyakubja or Kanoj and compelled him to betake himself to the caverns of mountains for safety[25]

Sons of Ahavamalla

Ahavamalla or Somesvara founded the city of Kalyana and made it his capital. Bilhana mentions the fact,[26] and the name

[21] My Report on the search for Mss. during 1882-83, p. 45.
[22] Bilhana's Vikr., I., 102-103.
[23] Merutunga's Bhojaprabandha; Rasa Mala VI., p 60, new Ed.
[24] Vikr. Ch, I, 107-116. [25] Ind Ant., Vol VIII, p. 19.
[26] Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., II, 1. The natural construction appears to

of the city does not occur in any inscriptions of a date earlier than 975 Saka, when Somesvara was reigning.[27] In the course of time three sons were born to Ahavamalla, the eldest of whom was named Somesvara, the second Vikramaditya, and the third Jayasimha.[28] The ablest of these was Vikramaditya, and Ahavamalla intended to raise him to the dignity of *yuvaraja* or prince-regent in supersession of his elder brother; but Bilhana tells us he declined the honour.[29] Somesvara therefore was installed as prince-regent, but the real work was done by Vikramaditya, who was invariably employed by his father to fight his battles. The first thing he did was to march as usual against the Cholas, whose king was defeated and deprived of his kingdom. The king of Malva, who had been driven from his country by somebody whose name is not given, sought Vikramaditya's assistance. That prince put down his enemies and placed him on the throne.[30]

VIKRAMADITYA'S MILITARY OPERATIONS

Vikramaditya is said to have invaded the Gauda country or Bengal and Kamarupa or Assam.[31] In the more detailed description of his career of conquest, Bilhana tells us, he first marched against the Keralas, whom he conquered.[32] The king of Simhala submitted to him at his approach;[33] then he took the city of Gangakunda and proceeded to the country of the Cholas, the prince of which fled and took refuge in the caverns of mountains. Vikramaditya then entered Kanchi and plundered it; and thence directed his march to Vengi, and to Chakrakota.[34]

AHAVAMALLA'S DEATH

While Vikramaditya was so employed, Ahavamalla was seized with a strong fever. When he observed his end approaching, he caused himself to be taken to the banks of the Tungabhadra. He bathed in the waters of the river and gave

be to take पराध्यं "most excellent" as an *attributive* adjective, not *predicative*, and take चकार as the predicate. The sense then will be: "He made (founded) the most excellent city named Kalyana."

[27] See Fleet's remarks on the point, Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 105. The word *Kalyana* occurring in the Salotgi inscription (Ind. Ant., Vol. I., p. 210), is also, like that in Kirtivarman's grant, to be taken in the sense of "good," "benefit," "beneficial," and not as the name of a town as Pandit and Buhler have done.

[28] Bilhana's Vikr. Ch. II., 57-58 and 85; III., 1, 25.

[29] *Ib.*, III., 26-32, 35-41, and 48-54. [30] *Ib.*, III., 55-67.

[31] Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., III., 74. [32] *Ib.*, IV., 2, 18.

[33] *Ib.*, IV., 20.

[34] *Ib.*, IV., 21-30. For the situation of Vengi, see *supra*. P. 62-63.

away a great deal of gold in charity. Then entering the river again, he proceeded until the water reached his neck, and, in the din caused by the waves and a number of musical instruments, drowned himself.[35] This event must have taken place in Saka 991, corresponding to 1069 A.D.[36] Ahavamalla, according to Bilhana, performed a great many sacrifices and was very liberal to men of learning.[37] On account of his virtues, poets made him the hero of the tales, poems, and dramas composed by them[38]

Somesvara proclaimed King. Quarrels between the Brothers

Somesvara, the eldest son of Ahavamalla, having been prince-regent, ascended the throne as a matter of course, and assumed the title of Bhuvanaikamalla Vikramaditya received intelligence of his father's death while returning from Vengi. He hastened to the capital and was received with affection by his brother. Vikramaditya made over to him all the spoils he had won in the course of his conquests, and for some time there was a good understanding between the brothers But Somesvara was a weak and tyrannical prince He oppressed his subjects and lost their affection. He would not be guided by the counsels of wiser and better men, and the kingdom of Kuntala lost a good deal of its importance and influence. Vikramaditya, unable to control his brother and suspecting his intentions towards himself, left the capital with his younger brother Jayasimha and a large army.[39] Somesvara II sent his forces after him, but they were defeated by Vikramaditya with great slaughter.[40] The prince then proceeded to the banks of the Tungabhadra, and, after some time, directed his march towards the country of the Cholas On the way he stopped at Banavasi, where he enjoyed himself for some time, and then started for the country of Malaya.

Submission of Jayakesi of Goa to Vikramaditya : Alliance with the Chola prince

Jayakesi is represented to have submitted to Vikramaditya and "given him more wealth than he desired, and thus to have rendered lasting the smile on the face of the Konkan ladies."[41] Jayakesi appears thus to have been king of the Konkan, and was the same as the first king of that name, who in the copper-plate grants of the Goa Kadambas, published by Fleet, is spoken of as having entered into an alliance with the Chalukya

[35] *Ib*, IV., 46-68. [36] Jour. R. A. S., Vol IV., p. 4.
[37] Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., I., 97-99, IV, 52. [38] *Ib*, I., 88
[39] *Ib*, IV., 88-119, V., 1 [40] *Ib*, V., 5-8. [41] *Ib*., V, 10, 18-25.

and Chola kings and made Gopakapattana or Goa his capital. Vikramaditya or Tribhuvanamalla in after-life gave his daughter Mallalamahadevi in marriage to his grandson, who also was called Jayakesi, and this circumstance is mentioned in all the three grants, since the connection with the paramount sovereign of the Dekkan raised the dignity of the family.[42] The king of the Alupas[43] also rendered his obeisance to the Chalukya prince, who showed him marks of favour. He then subjugated the Keralas or people of Malabar, and turned towards the country of the Dravidas or Cholas. Being informed of this, the Chola prince sent a herald with proposals of peace, offering his daughter in marriage to Vikramaditya. These were accepted by the latter, and at the solicitations of the Chola he fell back on the Tungabhadra, where the prince arrived with his daughter and concluded an alliance.[44]

Revolution in the Chola Kingdom : Alliance between Rajiga and Somesvara II against Vikramaditya

Some time after, the king of the Cholas died and there was a revolution in the kingdom. When the Chalukya prince heard of this he immediately proceeded to Kanchi, and placing the son of his father-in-law on the throne, remained there for a month to suppress his enemies and render his position secure. A short time after his return to the Tungabhadra, however, Rajiga, the king of Vengi, observing that the nobility of the Chola prince were disaffected, seized the opportunity, and, having deposed him, usurped the sovereignty of the country. To embarrass Vikramaditya and prevent his descent on Kanchi, Rajiga incited his brother Somesvara II to attack him from behind. Vikramaditya, however, marched on, and, by the time he came in sight of the Dravida forces, Somesvara overtook him in his rear. He had a very large army, which was well equipped.[45] Bilhana, who is, of course, anxious to show his patron to be guiltless in this fratricidal war, represents him to be deeply afflicted when he saw that his brother had made common cause with his enemy, and to have endeavoured to dissuade him from the course on which he had embarked.

Battle of Vikramaditya with his brother and Rajiga : Coronation of Vikramaditya

Somesvara made a show of yielding to his brother's expostulations, seeking however in the meanwhile for a favourable

[42] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX, pp. 242, 268, 279.
[43] See *supra*, p. 60, note 11.
[44] Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., V. 26-29, 46, 56, 60, 78, 79-89.
[45] *Ib.*, VI, 7-54.

opportunity to strike a decisive blow.[46] But Vikramaditya finally resolved to give a fight to the armies of both. Then a bloody battle ensued, Vikramaditya proved victorious, the new king of the Dravidas fled, and Somesvara was taken prisoner. The Chalukya prince then returned to the Tungabhadra, and after some hesitation dethroned Somesvara and had himself crowned king. To his younger brother Jayasimha he assigned the province of Banavasi[47] These events took place in the cyclic year *Nala*, Saka 998, or A.D. 1076.[48]

Reign of Vikramaditya II

Vikramaditya II. then entered Kalyana and had a long and upon the whole a peaceful reign of fifty years.[49] He assumed the title of Tribhuvanamalla, and is known by the names of Kalivikrama and Parmadiraya also. He abolished the Saka era and established his own, but it fell into disuse not long after his death. Some time after his accession, he went to Karahataka or Karhad and married the daughter of the Silahara king who reigned at the place. Her name was Chandralekha and she was a woman of rare beauty. Bilhana represents her to have held a *svayamvara* where a great many kings assembled, out of whom she chose the Chalukya prince and placed the nuptial wreath round his neck Whether the *svayamvara* was real, or imagined by the poet to give himself an opportunity for the display of his poetic and descriptive powers, it is not possible to decide Chandralekha is spoken of in the inscriptions as Chandaladevi, and many other wives of Tribhuvanamalla are mentioned besides her The revenues of certain villages were assigned to them for their private expenses.[50]

Rebellion of Jayasimha, Vikrama's brother

Some years after, Vikrama's brother Jayasimha, who had been appointed his viceroy at Banavasi, began to meditate treason

[46] *Ib*, VI, 56-61. [47] *Ib*, VI, 90-93, 98-99

[48] Jour R. A. S, Vol IV, p 4; Ind Ant, Vol VIII, p 189 The current Saka year was 999 Fleet thinks that the festival of his *Pattabandha* or coronation, grants on account of which are recorded as made on the 5th day of the bright half of Phalguna in the Nala year, in an inscription at Vadageri, was the annual festival. But this is a mere assumption. One would expect in such a case the word *varshikotsava*. The *utsava* or festival spoken of must be that which followed the ceremony. The date in this inscription refers to the grant, and does not, in my opinion, show at all the day on which the coronation ceremony took place. All we can gather from this inscription and that at Aralesvara is that the *Nala* Samvatsara was the first year of his reign.

[49] Jour. R. A. S., Vol IV., p. 14.

[50] *Ib.*, p 15, and Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., VIII,—XI,

against him He extorted a great deal of money from his subjects, entered into an alliance with the Dravida king and other chiefs, and even endeavoured to foment sedition and treachery among Vikramaditya's troops. When the king heard of this, he made several attempts to dissuade his brother from his evil course, but they were of no avail; and in a short time Jayasimha came with his numerous allies and his large army and encamped on the banks of the Krishna He plundered and burned the surrounding villages and took many prisoners and considered success so certain that he sent insulting messages to Vikrama[61] The king then marched against him at the head of his forces As he approached the river he was harassed by the enemy's skirmishers, but driving them away he encamped on the banks[62] He surveyed his brother's army and found it to be very large and strong Then a battle ensued. At first the elephants of the enemy advanced and spread confusion in the ranks of Vikrama All his elephants, horses, and men turned backwards, but with remarkable bravery the king rushed forward on the back of his maddened elephant, dealing heavy blows right and left The elephants of the enemy were driven back and the king killed a great many of his soldiers The army was defeated and Jayasimha and his followers fled away Vikrama did not pursue the enemy, but took the elephants, horses, women, and baggage left on the battle-field and returned to his capital After a time Jayasimha was caught skulking in a forest and brought to Vikramaditya, who, however, is represented to have pardoned him[63]

INVASION OF VIKRAMA'S DOMINIONS BY VISHNUVARDHANA

In the latter part of Vikrama's reign his dominions were invaded by a prince of the Hoysala branch of the Yadava family reigning at Dvarasamudra, the modern Halebid in Maisur, and with him were associated the kings of the Pandya country, Goa, and Konkan This Hoysala prince must have been Vishnuvardhana, the younger brother of Ballala and the grandson of Vinayaditya, who first brought the dynasty into prominence For in the inscription of Vira Ballala, the grandson of Vishnuvardhana, at Gaddaka, Vishnuvardhana is represented to have overrun the whole country between his capital and Belvola and washed his horses with the waters of the Krishna-Vena It is also stated that "he was again and again reminded by his servants of the honour done

[61] Bilhana's Vikr Ch, XIV, 1-13, 18, 49 56
[62] Ib, XIV, 57, 70, 71
[63] Ib., XV, 23, 41-42, 55-71, 85-87

to him by the king Paramardideva (Vikramaditya), who said, 'Know the Hoysala alone among all princes to be unconquerable.' "[54] Vikramaditya despatched against these enemies a dependent chief of the name of Acha or Achagi, whose territory lay to the south. Acha, who was "a very lion in war and shining like the hot-rayed sun, sounding his war-cry, pursued and prevailed against Poysala, took Gove, put to flight Lakshma in war, valorously followed after Pandya, dispersed at all times the Malapas, and seized upon the Konkan."[55] Acha must have fought several other battles for his master; for he is represented to have made "the kings of Kalinga, Vanga, Maru, Gurjara, Malava, Chera, and Chola (subject) to his sovereign."[56] Vikramaditya himself had to take the field against the Chola prince, who had grown insubordinate. He was defeated and fled, and the king returned to his capital.[57] Vikramaditya II constructed a large temple of Vishnu and had a tank dug in front of it. In the vicinity he founded a town which was called Vikramapura [58]

VIKRAMADITYA'S PATRONAGE OF LEARNING

He governed his subjects well and they were happy under his rule. The security they enjoyed was so great that, according to Bilhana, "they did not care to close the doors of their houses at night, and instead of thieves the rays of the moon entered through the window openings" He was very liberal and bountiful to the poor and "gave the sixteen great gifts at each holy conjuncture"[59] That he was a patron of learning is shown by the fact of a Kasmirian Pandit like Bilhana, who travelled over the whole of India in quest of support, having been raised by him to the dignity of Vidyapati or chief Pandit.

VIJNANESVARA

Vijnanesvara, the author of the Mitakshara, which is at present acknowledged over a large part of India, and especially in the Maratha country, as the chief authority on matters of law and religion, flourished in the reign of Vikramaditya and lived at Kalyana At the end of most manuscripts of that

[54] Ind Ant, Vol II, p 300 Fleet's translation of this verse is incorrect. The words are to be thus collocated · नृपेषु असाध्यतया होयसलमवधारय इति परमर्दिदेवनृपतेः प्रत्युपचारं यः नियुक्तः मुहुः स्मार्यते ।

[55] Jour B B, R A. S., Vol. XI, p. 244. Poysala and Hoysala are one and the same word.

[56] Ib, p 269. [57] Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., XVII, 43-68.

[58] Ib., XVII., 15, 22, 29, and Jour. R. A. S., Vol IV, p 15.

[59] Bilhana's Vikr Ch, XVII., 6, 36-37

work there occur three stanzas, which may be translated as follows[60] :

"On the surface of the earth, there was not, there is not, and there will be not, a town like Kalyana ; never was a monarch like the prosperous Vikramarka seen or heard of ; and,—what more ?—Vijnanesvara, the Pandit, does not bear comparison with any other[61] (person) May this triad which is like a celestial creeper[62] exist to the end of the Kalpa !

"May the Lord of wisdom[63] live as long as the sun and moon endure —he who produces words which distil honey and than which nothing is more wonderful to the learned, gives wealth exceeding their wishes to a multitude of supplicants,[64] contemplates the form of the subjugator of Mura, and has conquered the enemies that are born with the body

"May the lord Vikramaditya protect this whole earth as long

[60] See Bühler's article on the subject in Jour B B R A S, Vol. IX, p 134

[61] Buhler's reading of the last two lines is विज्ञानेश्वरपण्डितो न भजते किंचान्यदस्योपमां कल्पस्थं स्थिरमस्तु कल्पलतिकाकल्पं तदेव त्रयम् । The Doctor connects कल्पस्थं with किं चान्यत् and translates "nothing else that exists in this Kalpa bears comparison with the learned Vijnanesvara " To mean "nothing else," किंचान्यत् must be किमप्यन्यत् ; and in this construction पण्डितो, the nominative, has no verb, अन्यत् being taken as the nominative to the verb भजते Again, it will not do to say "nothing that exists in this Kalpa bears comparison," &c , for one-half of this Kalpa only has passed away , the other half still remains, and what it *will* produce but *has not yet* produced cannot be spoken of as कल्पस्थम् or existing in the Kalpa The only proper reading with a slight alteration is that of the Bombay lithographed edition, which he has given in a footnote and which is किंवान्यदन्योपमामाकल्पं. Instead of वा, there must be चा *here And this is the reading of a manuscript of the Mitakshara, dated Samvat 1535 and Saka 1401, purchased by me for the Bombay Government The reading is to be translated as in the text*

[62] Like the celestial creeper, in so far as the triad satisfies all desires,

[63] Bühler reads तत्र विज्ञाननाथ and construes it as a vocative The vocative does not look natural here. The Bombay lithographed edition and my manuscript have विज्ञाननाथः the nominative Instead of तत्र the *former* has तत्र and the latter तत्त्व , I have adopted this last The author has here taken the name Vijnanesvara in its etymological sense and given to विज्ञान or "knowledge" the object तत्त्व or "truth," the whole meaning "the lord of the knowledge of truth "

[64] Buhler's reading here is दातार्थिनामतिशयजुषामर्थिसार्थार्थितायाः, *Here* अर्थितायाः cannot make any sense ; it ought to be अर्थितायाः, which the lithographed edition and my manuscript have The latter reads the whole line thus :—दातार्थिनामतिशयजुषामर्थिसार्थार्थिना(ता)या[:]. *There is* another या after this, which is redundant,

as the moon and the stars endure,—he whose feet are refulgent with the lustre of the crest jewels of prostrate kings from the bridge, which is the heap of the glory of the best scion of the Raghu race, to the lord of mountains, and from the Western Ocean, the waves[65] of which surge heavily with the nimble shoals of fishes, to the Eastern Ocean."

Though Sanskrit authors often indulge in hyperbolic expressions without sufficient basis and as mere conventionalities, still the language and manner of these stanzas do show a really enthusiastic admiration in the mind of the writer for the city, its ruler, and the great Pandit, who from the fact of the liberality attributed to him appears to have enjoyed the favour of the king and perhaps held a high office. From this and from the description given by Bilhana, as well as from Vikramaditya's inscriptions, of which we have about two hundred, it appears to be an undoubted fact that he was the greatest prince of this later Chalukya dynasty, and that during his reign the country enjoyed happiness and prosperity.

SOMESVARA III OR BHULOKAMALLA : SOMESVARA'S ABHILASHITARTHA CHINTAMANI

Vikramaditya II was succeeded in Saka 1048 and in the cylic year *Parabhava* (A D 1127) by his son Somesvara III, who assumed the title of Bhulokamalla [66] He had a short reign of about 11 years He is represented to have "placed his feet on the heads of the kings of Andhra, Dravila, Magadha, Nepala ; and to have been lauded by all learned men." [67] This last praise does not seem to be undeserved ; for we have a work in Sanskrit written by Somesvara entitled Manasollasa or Abhilashitartha Chintamani, in which a great deal of information on a variety of subjects is given The book is divided into five parts. In the first are given the causes which lead to the acquisition of a knigdom ; in the second, those that enable one to retain it after he has acquired it, in the third, the kinds of enjoyment which are open to a king after he has rendered his power firm, in the fourth, the modes of diversion which give mental pleasure ; and in the fifth, sports or amusements Each of these consists of twenty kinds. In the first are included such

[65] The reading of the epithet of the "Western Ocean" is corrupt in all the three. I would improve that of the lithographed edition, which is चटुलतिमिकुलोत्तुङ्गरिंगत्तरंगात् to चटुलतिमिकुलोत्तुङ्गरिङ्खत्तरङ्गात् and of my manuscript to सान्द्रस्यत्तरङ्गात्. The root रिङ्ख is used in connection with waves (see B. & R.'s Lexicon *sub voce*).

[66] Jour. R. A. S, Vol IV, p. 15. The current Saka year corresponding to *Parabhava* was 1049

[67] Jour. B B R. A. S., Vol XI., p. 268.

virtues as shunning lies, refraining from injury to others, continence, generosity, affability, faith in the gods, feeding and supporting the poor and helpless, friends and alherents, &c. Under the second head are described what are called the seven *angas*, *i e*, the deal king, his ministers including the priest and the astrologer, the treasury and the way of replenishing it, the army, &c The enjoyments are—a beautiful palace, bathing, anointing, rich clothing, ornaments, &c The diversions are —military practice, horsemanship, training elephants, wrestling, cockfights, bringing up of dogs, poetry, music, dancing, and others The last class comprises sports in gardens and fields, or on mountains and sandbanks, games, enjoyment of the company of women, &c In connection with these subjects there are few branches of learning or art in Sanskrit the main principles of which are not stated We have polity, astronomy, astrology, dialectics, rhetoric, poetry, music, painting, architecture, medicine, training of horses, elephants, and dogs, &c The king does appear to have been a man of learning, and it was on that account that he received the title of *Sarvajna-bhupa* [68] or the "all-knowing king"

DATE GIVEN IN THE ABHILASHITARTHA CHINTAMANI

In the Manasollasa, in connection with the preparation of an almanac, the day used as an epoch from which to calculate the positions of certain heavenly bodies is stated as "Friday, the beginning of the month of Chaitra, one thousand and fifty-one years of Saka having elapsed, the year of the cycle being *Saumya*, while the king Soma, the ornament of the Chalukya [race] who was the very sage Agastya to the ocean of the essences of all the Sastras, [69] and whose enemies were destroyed, was ruling over the sea-begirt earth" [70] This work, therefore, was written in the fourth year after his accession

[68] *Ib*, pp 259 and 268

[69] That is, he drank the essences of all the Sastras or sciences as the sage Agastya drank the whole ocean

[70] एकपञ्चाशदधिके सहस्रे शारदां गते ।
शकस्य सोमभूपाले सति चालुक्यमण्डने ॥
समुद्ररसनामुर्वीं शासति क्षतविद्विषि ।
सर्वशास्त्रार्थसर्वस्वपाथोधिकलशोद्भवे ॥
सौम्यसंवत्सरे चैत्रमासादौ शुक्रवासरे ।
परिशोधितसिद्धान्तलब्धाः स्युर्ध्रुवका इमे ॥

JAGADEKAMALLA & TAILAPA II : AMBITIOUS DESIGNS OF VIJJALA

Somesvara III. or Bhulokamalla was succeeded in the cyclic year *Kalayukti*,[71] Saka 1060 or A D. 1138, by his son Jagadekamalla. Nothing particular is recorded of him. He reigned for 12 years and was succeeded by his brother Tailapa II., Nurmadi Taila or Trailokyamalla, in Saka 1072, *Pramoda* Samvatsara[72] During these two reigns the power of the Chalukyas rapidly declined, and some of the feudatory chiefs became powerful and arrogant. The opportunity was seized by a dependent chief named Vijjala or Vijjana of the Kalachuri race, who held the office of Dandanayaka or minister of war under Tailapa He conceived the design of usurping the throne of his master, and endeavoured to secure the sympathies and co-operation of some of the powerful and semi-independent chiefs Vijayarka, the Mahamandalesvara of Kolhapur, was one of those who assisted him,[73] and Prolaraja of the Kakateya dynasty of Tailangana, who is represented to have fought with Tailapa, did so probably to advance the same cause[74] He kept his master Tailapa under complete subjection till Saka 1079 or A D 1157, when Tailapa left Kalyana and fled to Annigeri in the Dharvad district, which now became the capital of his kingdom greatly reduced in extent There is an inscription dated Saka 1079, in Vijjala's name, the cyclic year being *Isvara*, and the next Samvatsara, *Bahudhanya*, is spoken of as the second year of his reign [75]

He does not however seem to have assumed the titles of supreme sovereignty till Saka 1084, when he marched against Tailapa II, who was at Annigeri, and proclaimed himself an independent monarch Tailapa seems then to have gone farther

[71] The *Siddharthin* Samvatsara is mentioned as the second of his reign, wherefore the preceeding Kalayukti (Saka 1060) must have been the first. The current Saka year was 1061 Ind Ant, VI, p 141. There are several inscriptions in which the name of Jagadekamalla occurs, but it is difficult to make out whether they belong to the reign of this king or Jayasimha Jagadekamalla, since the cyclic year only is given in them Sometimes the year of the king's reign is also given, but that even does not help in settling the point For Jayasimha began to reign in Saka 940 just 120 years or two complete cycles of 60 years each before Jagadekamalla II, and consequently the cyclic years and the years of their reigns are the same.

[72] For the *Yuva* Samvatsara was the sixth of his reign and it fell next after Saka 1077 In *Pramoda*, 1073 was the current Saka year and 1072 years had expired, Pali Sans and old Can Ins No 181

[73] Grant of Bhoja II of Kolhapur, Trans Bomb. Lit Soc, Vol III See Section XV

[74] He is said to have captured Tailapa and let him off through his devotion for him. He probably owed some allegiance to the Chalukya sovereign Ins of Rudradeva, Ind Ant, Vol. XI, pp 12 13, lines 27 30

[75] P S & O. C. Ins Nos 219 and 182.

south and established himself at Banavasi [76] The latest year of his reign mentioned in the inscriptions is the fifteenth, the Samvatsara or cyclic year being *Parthiva*, which was current next after Saka 1087 [77]

SOMESVARA IV EXTINCTION OF THE CHALUKYA POWER

For some time there was an interruption in the Chalukya power, and the Kalachuris seem to have held possession of the whole territory of that dynasty But internal dissensions consequent on the rise of the Lingayata creed and the assassination of Vijjala considerably weakened the power of the Kalachuris, and about the Saka year 1104 Somesvara, the son of Nurmadi Taila, succeeded in wresting a considerable portion of the hereditary dominions of his family, and established himself at Annigeri He owed his restoration to power to the valour and devoted attachment of a feudatory of his family named Brahma or Bomma, who fought several battles with the enemies of his master and is said to have conquered sixty elephants by means of a single one [78] Bomma is represented in an inscription at Annigeri dated Saka 1106 to have destroyed the Kalachuris and restored the Chalukyas to the throne [79] But a short time after the Yadavas of the south rose under Vira Ballala and of the north under Bhillama They both fought with Bomma but success at first attended the arms of Vira Ballala, who subdued the Chalukya general and put an end to the power of the dynasty [80] We lose trace of Vira Soma or Somesvara IV after Saka 1111

A BRANCH OF THE CHALUKYA FAMILY IN SOUTHERN KONKAN

The Chalukya family must have thrown out several branches of petty chiefs One such has been brought to light by a copper-plate grant dated Saka 1182, *Raudra* Samvatsara, which was in the possession of the Khot of Teravan, a village in the Rajapur taluka of the Ratnagiri district [81] The donor Kesava Mahajani was the minister of a Mahamandalesvara or chief of the name of Kamvadeva one of whose titles was "the sun that blows open the lotus bud in the shape of the Chalukya race" He is also called *Kalyanapuravaradhisvara* or "lord of Kalyana the best cities" which like several such titles of other chiefs [82]

[76] Jour R A S, Vol IV, p 16. [77] P S & O C Ins N 140
[78] Jour R A S, Vol IV, p 16, Ind Ant, Vol. II, p 300, I 29
[79] Jour R A S, Vol IV, p 16 [80] Ind Ant, Vol II, p 300, II 29-30
[81] Published in Jour R A S, Vol V, in Jour B B R A S, Vol IV, p 105, and Memoir, Savantvadi State, Govt. Rec. No X.
[82] See *infra* Section XVI.

simply shows that he belonged to the family that once reigned with glory at Kalyana. The village conveyed by the grant was Teravataka, identified with Teravan itself, from which it would appear that Kamvadeva was chief of that part of Konkan There is an inscription in the temple of Ambabai at Kolhapur in which is recorded the grant of a village by Somadeva who belonged to the Chalukya family and reigned at Samgamesvara, which is twelve *kos* to the north-east of Ratnagiri. Somadeva was the son of Vetugideva and the father of this last was Karnadeva [63] Probably the Kamvadeva of the Teravan grant belonged to this branch of the family There are still Maratha families of the name of Chalke reduced to poverty in the Samgamesvara Taluka or in the vicinity

SECTION XIII

THE KALACHURIS

ORIGINAL SEAT OF THE KALACHURI OR HAIHAYA FAMILY

The earliest mention of a family of this name that we have is in connection with Mangalisa of the early Chalukya dynasty Vinayaditya is represented in one of his inscriptions to have subdued the Haihayas [1] A family of this name with which, as we have seen, the later Rashtrakuta princes were connected by marriage, ruled over Chedi or the country about Jabalpur The Haihayas were also called Kalachuris or Kulachuris [2] The Kalachuris of Kalyana must have been an offshoot of this family One of the titles used by Vijjala was *Kalanjarapuravaradhisvara* "or Lord of the best city of Kalanjara" [3] Kalanjara was a stronghold belonging to the rulers of Chedi [4] and was probably their capital, though Tripura, the modern Tevur, is also known to have been the principal seat of the family Vijjala before his usurpation called himself only a Mahamandalesvara or minor chief, and is first mentioned as a feudatory of Jagadekamalla, the successor of Somesvara III [5] The manner in which he drove away Taila III from Kalyana, and having raised himself to the supreme power in the state gradually assumed the titles of a paramount sovereign, has already been described But soon after, a religious revolution took place at Kalyana, and Vijjala and his family succumbed to it.

[63] Jour B B R A S Vol II, p 263.
[1] *Supra*, Section, X, p 64-65
[2] See grant published in Arch Surv West Ind., No 10
[3] Jour B B R A S, Vol IX, p 330, No 50
[4] Bilhana's Vikr Ch, XVIII, p 93 Karna seems to be represented here to have conquered Kalanjara
[5] P S. & O C Ins No. 119.

Its Leader

The principal leader of that revolution was a person of the name of Basava. A work in Kanarese entitled Basava Purana gives an account of Basava; but it is full of marvellous stories and relates the wonderful miracles wrought by him. The principal incidents, however, may be relied on as historical On the other hand there is another work entitled Vijjalaraya Charita, written by a Jaina, which gives an account of the events from the opposite side, since the attacks of the Lingayatas were chiefly against the Jainas, and these were their enemies

Basava

Basava was the son of a Brahman named Madiraja, who lived at Bagevadi in the Kaladgi district. Baladeva, the prime minister of Vijjala, was his maternal uncle and gave him his daughter in marriage [6] After Baladeva's death the king appointed Basava his prime minister as being closely related to Baladeva [7] The Jainas, however, state that Basava had a beautiful sister named Padmavati, of whom the king became enamoured and whom he either married or made his mistress, [8] and it was on that account that he was raised to that office and became a man of influence There must be some truth in this story, for the Basava Purana narrates that the king gave his younger sister Nilalochana in marriage to Basava, which looks as if it were a counter-story devised to throw discredit on the other which was so derogatory to Basava [9] Basava had another sister named Nagalambika, who had a son named Chenna-Basava or Basava the younger In concert with him Basava began to propound a new doctrine and a new mode of worshipping Siva, in which the Linga and the Nandin or bull were prominent He speedily got a large number of followers, and ordained a great many priests, who were called Jangamas Basava had charge of the king's treasury, and out of it he spent large amounts in supporting and entertaining these Jangamas, who led a profligate life Vijjala had another minister named Manchanna, who was the enemy of Basava, and informed the king of his rival's embezzlements [10] In the course of time Vijjala was completely alienated from Basava and endeavoured to apprehend him But he made his escape

[6] Basava Purana, Jour B B R A. S, Vol VIII, p 67
[7] *Ib*, p 69
[8] *Ib*, p 97 Sir W Elliot's paper, Jour R A S, Vol IV, p 20.
[9] Jour B B R A S, Vol VIII, p 70
[10] *Ib.*, pp 78 & 89

with a number of followers, whereupon the king sent some men in pursuit. These were easily dispersed by Basava, and then Vijjala advanced in person. But a large number of followers now joined Basava, and the king was defeated and had to submit to his minister. Basava was allowed to return to Kalyana and reinstated in his office.[11] There was, however, no possibility of a complete reconciliation, and after some time the leader of the new sect conceived the design of putting the king to death. The circumstances that immediately led to the deed and the manner in which it was perpetrated are thus stated in the Basava Purana.

Vijjala Murdered

Account of the event according to the Basava Purana

At Kalyana there were two pious Lingayatas named Halleyaga and Madhuveyya, who were the devout adherents of their master Basava Vijjala, listening to the calumnious accusations of their enemies, caused their eyes to be put out All the disciples of Basava were highly indignant at this cruel treatment of these holy men, and assembled in their master's house. Basava ordered Jagaddeva to murder the king, pronounced a curse on Kalyana, and left the town Jagaddeva hesitated for a moment, but his mother spurred him on, and with two companions, Mallaya and Bommaya, went straight to the palace of the king, and rushing through the throng of courtiers, counsellors, and princes, they drew their poignards and stabbed Vijjala Thence they went into the streets, and brandishing their weapons proclaimed the reason of their perpetrating the deed Then arose dissensions in the city, men fought with men, horses with horses, and elephants with elephants; the race of Vijjala was extinct, Kalyana was a heap of ruins, and the curse pronounced by Basava was verified Basava went in haste to his favourite shrine of Sangamesvara, situated on the confluence of the Malaprabha with the Krishna, and there in compliance with his prayers the god absorbed him in his body[12]

Jaina Account

The account given by the Jainas is different Vijjala had gone on an expedition to Kolhapur to reduce the Silahara chief Bhoja II to subjection. In the course of his march back to the capital he encamped at a certain place on the banks of the Bhima, and, while reposing in his tent, Basava sent to him a

[11] Jour R A. S, Vol. IV, p 21, Jour B B. R. A. S, Vol. VIII., p 89

[12] Jour. B B R A S, Vol VIII., p 96, Wilson's Mackenzie MSS, pp 309-310.

Jangama disguised as a Jaina with a poisoned fruit Vijjala, who is said to have been a Jaina himself, unsuspectingly took the fruit from the hands of the seeming Jaina priest; and as soon as he smelled it, he became senseless His son Immadi Vijjala and others hastened to the spot, but to no purpose Vijjala, however, somewhat recovered his senses for a short while, and, knowing who it was that had sent the poisoned fruit, enjoined his son to put Basava to death Immadi Vijjala gave orders that Basava should be arrested and all Jangamas, wherever found, executed [13] On hearing of this, Basava fled, and being pursued went to the Malabar coast and took refuge at a place called Ulavi [14] The town was closely invested and Basava in despair threw himself into a well and died, while his wife Nilamba put an end to her existence by drinking poison

CHENNA-BASAVA'S LEADERSHIP

When Vijjala's son was pacified, Chenna-Basava surrendered all his uncle's property to him and was admitted into favour [15] He now became the sole leader of the Lingayatas, but, even before, his position was in some respects superior to that of Basava The religious portion of the movement was under his sole direction, and it was he who shaped the creed of the sect In him the *Pranava* or sacred syllable *Om* is said to have become incarnate to teach the doctrines of the Vira Saiva faith to Basava, [16] and, according to the Chenna-Basava Purana, "Chenna-Basava was Siva, Basava, Vrishabha (or Siva's bull, the Nandin), Bijjala, the door-keeper, Kalyana, Kailasa, (and) Siva worshippers (or Lingayatas), the Siva host (or the troops of Siva's attendants)" [17]

SOVIDEVA & SAMKAMA EXTINCTION OF THE KALACHURI DYNASTY

Vijjala's death took place in Saka 1089 (1090 *current*), or A. D 1167 He was succeeded by his son, who in the inscriptions is called Sovideva or Somesvara He reigned till Saka 1100 and was followed by his brother Samkama, whose inscriptions come down to the cyclic year *Subhakrit* In an inscription at Balagamve the cyclic year *Vikarin* (S 1101) is called the third of his reign, [18] while in another at the same place the same

[13] Wilson's Mackenzie MSS, p 320
[14] Jour R A S, Vol IV, p 22
[15] Wilson's Mackenzie MSS, p 320
[16] *Ib*, p 311
[17] Jour B B R A S, Vol VIII, p 127
[18] P S & O C Ins No 183

year is spoken of as the fifth [19] In other inscriptions we have two names Samkama and Ahavamalla and the cyclic years *Sarvarin* (S. 1102) and *Plava* (S. 1103) are represented as the third year of his or their reign, which is possible, and *Subhakrit* (S. 1104) as the eighth. [20] About Saka 1104 the Chalukya prince Somesvara IV wrested some of the provinces of his ancestral dominions from the Kalachuris, and the rest must have been conquered by the Northern Yadavas; so that about this time the Kalachuri dynasty became extinct.

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE DURING THE LATER CHALUKYA PERIOD

BUDDHISM

During the period occupied by the later Chalukya dynasty and the Kalachuris (Saka 895-1110 or A D 973-1188), the old state of things as regards the religious and social condition of the country may be said to have finally disappeared and the new ushered in First, we have in this period what might be considered the last traces of Buddhism In the reign of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramaditya II., in the cyclic year *Yuvan*, and the nineteenth of his era (Saka 1017), sixteen merchants of the Vaisya caste constructed a Buddhistic *vihara* or monastery and temple at Dharmavolal, the modern Dambal in the Dharvad district and assigned for its support and for the maintenance of another *vihara* at Lokkigundi, the modern Lakkundi, a field and a certain amount of money to be raised by voluntary taxation [21] In Saka 1032 the Silahara chief of Kolhapur constructed a large tank and placed on its margin an idol of Buddha along with those of Siva and Arhat, and assigned lands for their support [22]

JAINISM

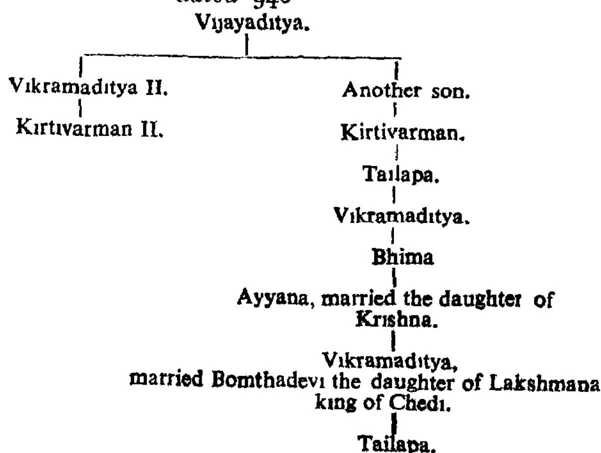
Jainism ceased in this period to be the conquering religion that it was, and about the end received an effectual check by the rise of the Lingayata sect This new creed spread widely among the trading classes, which before were the chief supporters of Jainism There is a tradition in some parts of the country that some of the existing temples contained Jaina idols at one time and that afterwards they were thrown out and Brahmanic ones placed instead This points to a change of feeling with reference to Jainism, the origin of which must be referred to this period

[19] *Ib*, No 189
[20] *Ib* Nos 190 192 & 193
[21] Ind. Ant, Vol X, p 185
[22] Jour B B R A S, Vol XIII, p 4, and *infra*, Section XVI.

PURANIC RELIGION : CODIFICATION OF THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LAW

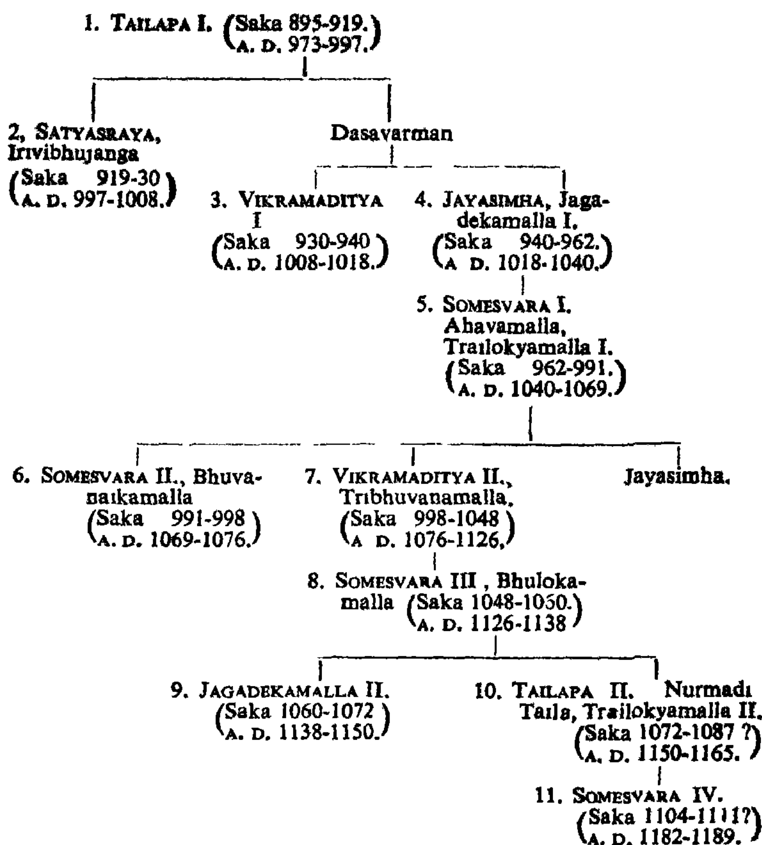
The worship of the Puranic gods flourished; and during this period the endeavours of the Brahmans and their adherents were for the first time directed towards reducing the civil and religious law to a system, or towards its codification, as it might be called. The texts or precepts on the subject were scattered in a great many Smritis and Puranas, and often there were apparent inconsistencies and the law was doubtful. *Nibandhas* or digests, of which we have now so many, began to be written in this period, but the form which they first took, and which even now is one of the recognized forms, was that of commentaries on Smritis. Bhoja of Dhara, who belongs to the first part of this period, must have written a treatise on the subject, since under the name of Dharesvara he is referred to by Vijnanesvara in his work. He was followed by Vijnanesvara, who, as we have seen, lived at Kalyana in the reign of Vikramaditya II. Apararka, another commentator on Yajnavalkya, who calls his work a *nibandha* on the *Dharmasastra* or institutes of Yajnavalkya, was a prince of the Silahara family of northern Konkan and was on the throne in Saka 1109 (A. D. 1187) and in the cyclic year *Parabhava*.[23] Or, if he was the earlier prince of that name, he must have flourished about fifty years before. This movement was continued in the next or thirteenth century by Hemadri, and by Sayana in the fourteenth.

Genealogy of the Chalukya family between Vijayaditya and Tailapa as given in the Miraj grant of Jayasimha dated 946



[23] Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, pp 334 335.

Genealogy of the later Chalukyas.



SECTION XIV

The Yadavas of Devagiri

Early History of the Family

Authorities

The genealogy of the Yadavas is given in the introduction to the Vratakhanda attributed to or composed by Hemadri who was a minister of Mahadeva, one of the later princes of the dynasty. Some of the manuscripts of the work, however, do not contain it, and in others it begins with Bhillama, as it was he who acquired supreme power and raised the dynasty to importance. Others again contain an account of the family from the very beginning, the first person mentioned being the Moon who was churned out of the milky ocean. From the Moon the genealogy is carried down through all the Puranic or legendary ancestors to Mahadeva. But it is not difficult from the account itself to determine where the legend ends and history begins. Besides, the names of most of the historical predecessors of Bhillama agree with those occurring in the copper-plate grant translated by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji.[1] He considered the Yadava dynasty mentioned in his grant to be different from that of Devagiri and called it "A New Yadava Dynasty," as, of course, in the absence of the information I now publish, he was justified in doing. But it is now perfectly clear that the princes mentioned in the grant were the ancestors of the Devagiri Yadavas. The following early history of the family is based on the account given in the Vratakhanda[2] and on the grant published by the Pandit. The latter, however, brings down the genealogy only to Seunachandra II. who was on the throne in 991 Saka or 1069 A.D., and omits the names of some of the intermediate princes.

[1] Ind. Ant. Vol. XII, p. 119 *et seq.*

[2] The edition of the Vratakhanda in the Bibliotheca Indica contains neither of these two very valuable and important *Prasastis*. I have therefore had recourse to manuscripts. There is one manuscript only in the Government collections deposited in the Library of the Dekkan College and that is No. 234 of Collection A. of 1881-82 which was made by me. It contains the shorter Prasasti beginning with the reign of Bhillama. There is another copy in the collection belonging to the old Sanskrit College of Poona which contains the longer Prasasti. Unfortunately however the third and fourth leaves of the manuscript are missing, and the second ends with Parammadeva the successor of Seunachandra II., while the fifth begins with some of the last stanzas of the introduction referring to Hemadri and his works. The valuable portion therefore was in leaves 3 and 4, but that is irretrievably lost. I therefore endeavoured to procure copies from the private collections in the city of Poona and obtained one from Khasgivale's library. It contains the shorter Prasasti only. My learned friend Gangadhar Sastri Datar procured another. In it the two, the shorter one and the longer, are jumbled

DRIDHAPRAHARA, THE FOUNDER OF THE FAMILY

Subahu who belonged to the Yadava race was a universal sovereign. He had four sons among whom he divided the whole earth ruled over by him The second son Dridhaprahara[3] became king in the south or Dekkan. The Yadavas, it is stated, were at first lords of Mathura, then from the time of Krishna they became sovereigns of Dvaravati or Dvaraka, and came to be rulers of the south from the time of the son of Subahu, *viz*, Dridhaprahara His capital was Srinagara according to the Vratakhanda, while from the grant it appears to have been a town of the name of Chandradityapura, which may have been the modern Chamdor in the Nasik district

SEUNACHANDRA I & SEUNADESA . SEUNACHANDRA'S SUCCESSORS

He had a son of the name of Seunachandra who succeeded to the throne The country over which he ruled was called Seunadesa[4] after him, and he appears to have founded a town also of the name of Seunapura Seunadesa was the name of the region extending from Nasik to Devagiri, the modern Daulatabad, since later on we are told that Devagiri was situated in Seunadesa and that this latter was situated on the confines of Dandakaranya[5] Seunachandra's son Dhadiyappa[6] became king after him and he was succeeded by his son Bhillama After Bhillama, his son Sriraja according to the grant, or Rajagi according to the other authority, came to the throne, and he was succeeded[7] by Vaddiga or Vadugi who was

together There are in the commencement the first seventeen stanzas of the shorter and then the longer one begins, and after that is over, we have the remaining stanzas of the shorter This is the only manuscript of the four now before me which contains the whole of the longer Prasasti, and the information it gives about the later princes of the dynasty known to us from the inscriptions is also valuable and new, but the manuscript is extremely incorrect I therefore caused a search for other copies to be made at Nasik, Kolhapur and Ahmedabad but none was available at those places I give the two Prasastis in Appendix C

[3] He is called Dridhaprahari (nom sing) in the MSS , stanza 20, Appendix C I

[4] Stanza 22, Appendix C I

[5] Stanza 19, Appendix C II

[6] Called Dhadiyasa in the MSS , Appendix C I , stanza 23

[7] *Ibid* Pandit Bhagvanlal translates the words *arvak tasya* (see note 9 below) occurring in the Yadava grant as "before him," and placing Vaddiga before Sriraja, conjectures that he was Bhillama's son and that Sriraja his uncle deposed him and usurped the throne, (Ind Ant Vol XII, pp 125 *a* and 128*b*) But *arvak tasya* can never mean "before him," and must mean "after him," and hence the conjectures are groundless I have never seen a *preceding* prince mentioned in the grants after his successor, with such an introductory expression as "*before him* so and so became king" By the occurrence of the word अथाभिष्ट in stanza 23, line 2, Appendix C I, it appears Rajagi was the son of Bhillama I.

probably the brother of his predecessor Then came Dhadiyasa[8] who was the son of Vadugi according to the Vratakhanda. The grant omits his name Dhadiyasa was succeeded by his son Bhillama[9] Bhillama married according to the grant Lasthiyavva[10] the daughter of Jhanjha who was probably the Silahara prince of Thana of that name Lasthiyavva sprang on her mother's side from the Rashtrakuta family, and through her son became "the upholder of the race of Yadu ;"[11] so that

[8] Appendix C I Stanza 24 If he had been mentioned in the grant, he would probably have been called Dhadiyappa

[9] *Ibid* Pandit Bhagvanlal omits this prince though he is mentioned in his grant The last two lines of the fourth stanza in this are

आर्वाक्तस्य बभूव भूतलहरिः श्रीवड्डिगाख्यो नृपः
तस्मात्श्रीवरभिल्लमक्षितिपतेः प्रत्यक्षधर्माभवत् ॥

The Pandit translates this —"Before him was the illustrious king Vaddiga, a Hari on earth, and therefore he was exactly like the illustrious good Bhillama in his actions " I have already remarked that instead of "before him," we should have "after him," here The word तस्मात् is translated by "therefore" "Wherefore ?" I would ask No reason is given in the first of these lines for his being *exactly like* Bhillama, and therefore, it will not do to translate तस्मात् by "therefore" Again, the Pandit's interpretation of प्रत्यक्षधर्मा as "exactly like in actions" is farfetched and unnatural The thing is, the genitive or ablative क्षितिपतेः cannot be connected with any word in the line, and is therefore one of the innumerable mistakes which we have in this grant and most of which have been pointed out by the Pandit himself What is wanted here is the nominative क्षितिपतिः for क्षितिपतेः and then the whole is appropriate, and तस्मात will have its proper sense of "after him," or 'from him " The correct translation then is "*After him* was a king of the name of Vaddiga the prosperous, who was a Hari on earth, and *after him* or *of him* (*i e*, Vaddiga), came the prosperous, great Bhillama in whom Virtue became incarnate " In this way, we have here another king Bhillama, as mentioned in the Prasasti in the Vratakhanda in the passage cited above

[10] This lady, according to my translation becomes the wife of Bhillama who is the king mentioned immediately before and not of his grand father Vaddiga as the Pandit makes out

[11] Here there is another difficulty arising from a mistake in the grant which Pandit Bhagvanlal has in my opinion not succeeded in solving, and he bases upon that mistake conjectures which are rather too far-reaching (p 125*a*, Ind Ant, Vol. XII) The stanza is

भार्या यस्य च झंझराजतनया श्रीलस्थियव्वाह्वया
धर्मत्यागविवेकबुद्धिसगुणा राष्ट्रकूटान्वया ।
या जाता नवबालराजसमये यदन्वयाधारिता
सर्वागोद्यतराज्यभारधरणाद्रायत्रयाध्यां ततः ॥

The Pandit's translation is —"Whose wife was the daughter of king Jhanjha, Lasthiyavva by name, possessed of the (three) good qualities of virtue, liberality, and hospitality, who was of the Rashtrakuta race, *as being adopted (by them) at the time of the rule of the young prince*

she was connected with three ruling dynasties and flourishing kingdoms The next king was Vesugi[12] called in the grant Tesuka which probably is a mistake or misreading for Vesuka or Vesuga. He married Nayaladevi, the daughter of Gogi, who is styled a feudatory of the Chalukya family,[13] and was perhaps the same as the successor of the Thana prince Jhanjha. The Rashtrakutas must have been overthrown by the Chalukyas about the end of Jhanjha's reign and thus his successor became a feudatory of the Chalukyas

BHILLAMA III, SON-IN-LAW OF JAYASIMHA

The Vratakhanda places Arjuna after Vesugi,[14] but the grant omits his name The next king was Bhillama[15] who married

(*during his minority*), and who therefore by reason of bearing the burden of the kingdoms, with its seven angas, was an object of reverence to the three kingdoms "

I agree with the Pandit in reading श्री before राष्ट्रकूटान्वया and taking रायत्रय as राज्यत्रय, and, generally, in his translation of the first two and the fourth lines But the translation of the third line, that is, the portion italicised in the above, is very objectionable The Pandit reads राज from नाज and says that the य in यदन्वया॰ ought to be long for the metre but would make no sense Now, in seeking the true solution of the difficulty here, we must bear in mind that in the fourth line the lady is spoken of as 'an object of reverence to the three kingdoms " Which are the three kingdoms? First evidently, that of Jhanjha, her father, who is spoken of in the first line, and secondly, that of the Rashtrakutas from whose race she is spoken of as having sprung in the second line Now, we must expect some allusion to the third kingdom in the third line The third kingdom was clearly that of the Yadavas into whose family she had been married I, therefore, read यद्वन्वया॰ for यदन्वया॰ and thus the difficulty about the metre is removed, the य becoming prosodially long in consequence of the following द्व. In the same manner I think बाल्नाज, is a mistake for बालजान The word जान the writer must have taken from his vernacular and considered it a Sanskrit word, or probably not knowing Sanskrit well, he must have formed it from the root जन् on the analogy of माद from मद्, नाद from नद्, मान from मन् &c Or बाल्नाज may be considered as a mistake for बालजन्म, the sense being the same, viz "birth of a child " The compound यद्वन्वयाधारिता is to be dissolved as आधारितः यद्वन्वःयया । आधारित being made the second member according to Panini II, 2, 37. The translation of the line, therefore, is "who became the upholder of the race of Yadu on the occasion of the birth of a new child," *i e*, through her child she became the upholder of the Yadava race In this manner, the supposition of her being adopted by the Rashtrakutas during the young prince's minority becomes groundless She must have belonged to the Rashtrakuta race on her mother's side

[12] Stanza 24, Appendix C I

[13] The expression चालुक्यान्वयमण्डलीक in the grant admits of being taken in the manner I have done The Pandit understands Gogiraja as belonging to the Chalukya race. I consider my interpretation to be more probable.

[14] Stanza 24, Appendix C I

[15] Stanza 26, *Ibid*.

Hamma, the daughter of Jayasimha and sister of Ahavamalla, the Chalukya emperor, under whose standard he fought several battles [16] The grant then proceeds at once to the donor, the reigning prince Seuna, who is spoken of in general terms as "having sprung from the race" of the last-mentioned king, and is represented to have defeated several kings and freed his kingdom from enemies after "the death of Bhillama." This Bhillama was his immediate predecessor, but he was a different person from the brother-in-law of Ahavamalla since Seuna is spoken of not as the son of the latter or any such near relation but simply as "having sprung from his race" The Vratakhanda supplies the names of the intermediate princes The elder Bhillama was succeeded by Vadugi, [17] his son, "whose praise was sung by poets in melodius words" After him Vesugi [18] became king, but how he was related to Vadugi we are not told He humbled a number of subordinate chiefs who had grown troublesome

SEUNACHANDRA II, THE ALLY OF VIKRAMADITYA II

Then came Bhillama and after him Seuna [19] who issued the charter translated by Pandit Bhagvanlal What relationship the last three princes bore to each other is not stated Seuna is represented to have saved Paramardideva, that is, Vikramaditya II, who is styled the "luminary of the Chalukya family" from a coalition of his enemies, and to have placed him on the throne of Kalyana [20] This appears to be a reference to the coalition between the Vengi prince and Vikramaditya's brother Somesvara The Yadava prince Seuna was thus a close ally of the Chalukya monarch and their dates also are consistent with the fact Seunachandra's grant is dated Saka 991 *Saumya Samvatsara*, while Vikramaditya II got possession of the Chalukya throne in Saka 998 *Nala* The grant mentions the relations of previous Yadava princes to the Chalukyas of Kalyana, while the important service rendered by Seunachandra to Vikramaditya is not recorded, and he is spoken of only in general terms as having vanquished "all kings" This itself shows that in all likelihood the fact mentioned in the Vratakhanda of Seunachandra's having delivered that prince from his enemies and placed him on the throne took place after

[16] This appears to me to be the general sense of stanza 8 and not that he fought with Ahavamalla as Pandit Bhagvanlal understands I need not discuss the matter in detail

[17] Stanza 26, Appendix C I

[18] Stanza 27, *Ibid*

[19] Stanza 28, *Ib*

[20] Stanza 29, *Ib*

Saka 991, and we know it as a matter of fact that Vikramaditya became king in Saka 998.

SUCCESSORS OF SEUNACHANDRA II

Seunachandra was succeeded by Parammadeva who was probably his son, and after him came Simharaja [21] Simhiraja is probably a mislection for Simharaja or "King Simha", and the full name of the prince may have been Simhana or Singhana How Simha was related to Paramma we do not know ; probably he was his brother. He is said to have brought an elephant of the name of Karpuratilaka from L(Tr)anjipura [22]

MALLUGI, BHILLAMA V, THE FOUNDER OF THE YADAVA EMPIRE

He was succeeded by his son Mallugi who took a town of the name of Parnakheta from his enemies, and while residing there carried away by force the troop of elements belonging to the king of Utkala or Orissa [23] Then followed his son Amaragangeya [24] whose name is mentioned in a copperplate grant issued in the reign of a subsequent king [25] After him came Govindaraja who was probably his son Govindaraja was succeeded by Amaramallagi, a son of Mallugi, and he, by Kaliya Ballala This prince was in all likelihood the son of Amaramallagi, though it is not expressly stated Ballala's sons were set aside and the sovereignty of the Yadava family fell into the hands of his uncle Bhillama [26] who was possessed of superior abilities Bhillama being represented as the uncle of Ballala must have been another son of Mallugi, and he is so spoken of in the grant referred to above He got possession of the throne after two of his brothers and their sons, wherefore he must have been a very old man at the time. Hence it is that he reigned only for a sort time, having come to the throne in Saka 1109 and died in 1113 It was this Bhillama who acquired for his family the empire that was ruled over by the Chalukyas

SEUNACHANDRA OF ANJANERI

Pandit Bhagvanlal has published a stone-inscription [27] existing in a ruined temple at Anjaneri near Nasik, in which a chief of the Yadava family named Seunadeva is represented to have

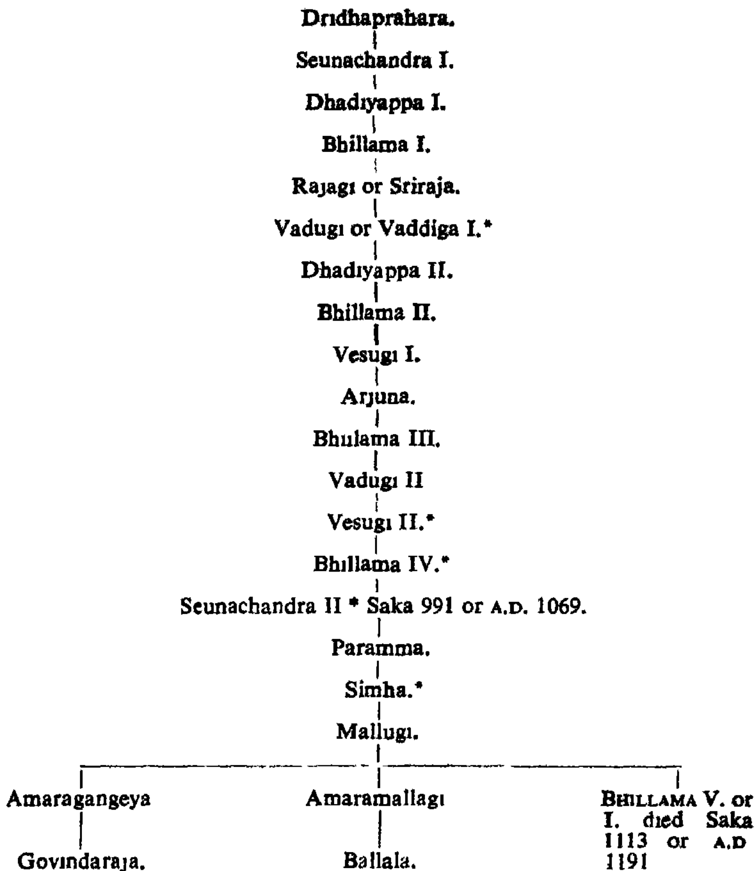
[21] Stanzas 30 and 31, *Ib*
[22] Stanza 32, Appendix C I May Tranjipura be the modern Tanjor ?
[23] Stanzas 33 and 34, *Ib*
[24] Stanza 35, *Ibid*
[25] Jour B B R A S, Vol XV, p 386
[26] Stanzas 35-37, Appendix C. I
[27] Ind Ant, Vol. XII, p 126

made some grant in the Saka year 1063 to a Jaina temple. From the account given above, it will be seen that there were two princes only of the name of Seuna in the Yadava family, and that the later of the two was an ally of Vikramaditya II, and consequently reigned about the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century of the Saka era. The Seunadeva of the Anjaneri inscription therefore cannot be this individual, and no other prince of that name is mentioned in the Vratakhanda Besides Seunadeva calls himself pointedly a *Mahasamanta* or chief only, while about 1063 Saka when the Chalukya power had begun to decline, it does not appear likely that the Yadavas of Seunadesa should give themselves such an inferior title It therefore appears to me that the Seunadeva of Anjaneri belonged to a minor branch of the Yadava family dependent on the main branch and that the branch ruled over a small district of which Anjaneri was the chief city

APPROXIMATE DATE OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE YADAVA FAMILY

The number of princes who reigned from Dridhaprahara to Bhillama V inclusive is 23 There are in the list a good many who belonged to the same generation as their predecessors and consequently these twenty-three do not represent so many different generations. Allowing, therefore, the usual average, in such cases of 19 years to each reign, the period that must have elapsed between the accession of Dridhaprahara and the death of Bhillama V is 437 years The dynasty, therefore, was founded about 676 Saka or 754 A D., that is, about the time of the overthrow of the early Chalukyas by the Rashtrakutas

Genealogy of the early Yadavas of Seuṇadesa



* The relations of those whose names are marked with an asterisk to their predecessors are not clearly stated

SECTION XV

THE YADAVAS OF DEVAGIRI

Later History

AMBITIOUS PROJECTS OF THE HOYSALA YADAVAS VIRA BALLALA

We have seen that the Hoysala Yadavas of Halebid in Maisur were becoming powerful in the time of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramaditya II and aspiring to the supreme sovereignty of the Dekkan, and Vishnuvardhana the reigning prince of the family at that period actually invaded the Chalukya territory and encamped on the banks of the Krishna-Vena But those times were not favourable for the realization of their ambitious projects The Chalukya prince was a man of great ability, the power of the family was firmly established over the country, its resources were large, and the dependent chiefs and noblemen were obedient But the state of things had now changed Weaker princes had succeeded, the Chalukya power had been broken by their dependents the Kalachuris, and these in their turn had succumbed to the internal troubles and dissensions consequent on the rise of the Lingayata sect At this time the occupant of the Hoysala throne was Vira Ballala, the grandson of Vishnuvardhana He fought with Brahma or Bomma, the general of the last Chalukya prince Somesvara IV, and putting down his elephants by means of his horses defeated him and acquired the provinces which the general had won back from Vijjala [1]

RISE OF BHILLAMA FOUNDATION OF DEVAGIRI

The Yadavas of the north were not slow to take advantage of the unsettled condition of the country to extend their power and territory The reigning prince at that time must have been Ballala the son of Amaramallagi But the most enterprising member of the family was Bhillama his uncle He captured a town of the name of Srivardhana from a king who is called Amsala, vanquished in battle the king of Pratyandaka, put to death the ruler of Mangalaveshtaka, (Mangalvedhem), of the name of Vajjala, and having obtained the sovereignty of Kalyana, set at defiance the Hoysala Yadava [2] When in this manner he made himself master of the whole country to the

[1] Ind Ant, Vol II, p 300

[2] Appendix C I stanza 38 As the only manuscript which is my guide here is bad, the names given in the text are open to correction. Mangalvedhem is near Pandharpur It was probably the capital of a minor chief

north of the Krishna, he founded the city of Devagiri[3] and having got himself crowned, made that city his capital. This took place about the Saka year 1109.

CONTESTS BETWEEN THE RIVALS

Bhillama then endeavoured to extend his territory farther southwards, but he was opposed by Vira Ballala, who, as we have seen, had been pushing his conquests nothwards It was a contest for the possession of an empire and was consequently arduous and determined Several battles took place between the two rivals, and eventually a decisive engagement was fought at Lokkigundi, now Lakkundi, in the Dharvad District, in which Jaitrasimha, who is compared to "the right arm of Bhillama" and must have been his son, was defeated and Vira Ballala became sovereign of Kuntala The inscription in which this is recorded bears the date Saka 1114 or A D. 1192,[4] and Vira Ballala who made the grant recorded in it was at that time encamped with his victorious army at Lokkigundi, from which it would appear that the battle had taken place but a short time before The northern Yadavas had to put off the conquest of Kuntala or the Southern Maratha Country for a generation

JAITRAPALA

Bhillama was succeeded in 1113 Saka by his son Jaitrapala or Jaitugi He took an active part in his father's battles "He assumed the sacrificial vow on the holy ground of the battle-field and throwing a great many kings into the fire of his prowess by means of the ladles of his weapons, performed a human sacrifice by immolating a victim in the shape of the fierce Rudra, the lord of the Tailangas, and vanquished the three worlds"[5] The Rudra whom he is thus represented to have killed on the field of battle was probably the Rudradeva of the Kakateya dynasty whose inscription we have at Anamkond near Worangal In other places also his war with the king of the Andhras or Tailangas is alluded to,[6] and he is represented to have deprived the Andhra ladies of happiness[7] Lakshmidhara, the son of the celebrated mathematician and

[3] *Ib* st. 39 [4] Ind Ant, Vol II., p. 300

[5] Appendix C I st 41 Just as the fruit of a horse sacrifice is the conquest of the whole world, the fruit of a man sacrifice is supposed here to be the conquest of the three worlds Jaitrapala performed metaphorically such a sacrifice, and that is considered to be the reason, as it were, of his having obtained victories everywhere. *i.e.*, in the usual hyperbolic language, of his having succeeded in vanquishing the three worlds

[6] Jour. B B R. A S, p. 386.

[7] Jour R A. S Vol I N S p. 414.

astronomer Bhaskaracharya, was in the service of Jaitrapala and was placed by him at the head of all learned Pandits. He knew the Vedas and was versed in the Tarkasastra and Mimamsa [8]

SINGHANA

Jaitrapala's son and successor was Singhana, under whom the power and territory of the family greatly increased He ascended the throne in 1132 Saka [9] He defeated a king of the name of Jajjala and brought away his elephants He deprived a monarch named Kakkula of his sovereignty, destroyed Arjuna who was probably the sovereign of Malva, and made Bhoja a prisoner "King Lakshmidhara, the lion of Bhangariga, was reduced, the ruler of Dhara was besieged by means of troops of horses, and the whole of the country in the possession of Ballala was taken All this was but a child's play to King Singhana" [10] The kings of Mathura and Kasi were killed by him in battle and Hammira was vanquished by but a boy-general of Singhana [11] In an inscription also at Tilivalli in the Dharvad District, he is represented to have defeated Jajalladeva, conquered Ballala the Hoysala king, subdued Bhoja of Panhala, and humbled the sovereign of Malava. [12] He is also spoken of as "the goad of the elephant in the shape of the Gurjara king" [13] We have an inscription of his at Gaddaka dated 1135 Saka, which shows that Vira Ballala must have been deprived of the southern part of the country before that time. [14] Singhana is represented to be reigning at his capital Devagiri [15]

The Bhoja of Panhala spoken of above was a prince of the Silahara dynasty, and after his defeat his Kolhapur kingdom appears to have been annexed by the Yadavas to their dominions They put an end to this branch of the family as later on they did to another which ruled over Northern Konkan From this time forward the Kolhapur inscriptions contain the names of the Yadava princes with those of the governors appointed by them to rule over the district An inscription of Singhana at Khedrapur in that district records the grant of a village to the temple of Koppesvara in the year 1136 Saka

[8] *Ib* p 415 [9] Jour R A S, Vol IV, p 5
[10] Appendix C I st 43 and 44
[11] Jour R A. S Vol I N S p 414
[12] Jour B B R A S, Vol IX, p 326
[13] Major Graham's Report on Kolhapur, Ins No. 13.
[14] Ind Ant, Vol II, p 297
[15] Major Graham's Report, Ins. No 10

SINGHANA'S INVASIONS OF GUJARAT. FIRST INVASION

Singhana seems to have invaded Gujarat several times. In an inscription at Ambem a Brahman chief of the name of Kholesvara of the Mudgala Gotra is spoken of as a very brave general in the service of the Yadava sovereign. He humbled the pride of the Gurjara prince, crushed the Malava, destroyed the race of the king of the Abhiras, and being like "wild fire to the enemies" of his master left nothing for Singhana to be anxious about His son Rama succeeded him, and a large expedition under his command was again sent to Gujarat Rama advanced up to the Narmada, where a battle was fought, in which he slew numbers of Gurjara soldiers, but he himself lost his life [16] From this it would appear that Gujarat was invaded by Singhana on two occasions at least, if not more, and this is borne out by what we find stated in the authorities for the history of Gujarat Somadeva, the author of the Kirtikaumudi, which gives an account of the minister Vastupala and his masters the princes of the Vaghela branch of the Chalukya family, describes an invasion of Gujarat by Singhana in the time of Lavanaprasada and his son Viradhavala "The capital of Gujarat trembled with fear when the advance of Singhana's army was reported Being afraid of this foreign invasion no one among the subjects of the Gurjara king began the construction of a new house or stored grain, and the minds of all were restless Neglecting to secure the grain in their fields they showed a particular solicitude to procure carts, and as the army of the enemy approached nearer and nearer, the people with their fears greatly excited removed farther and farther

When Lavanaprasada heard of the rapid advance of the innumerable host of the Yadava prince, he knit his brow in anger, and though he had but a small army, proceeded with it to meet that of the enemy, which was vastly superior When the forces of Singhana arrived on the banks of the Tapi he rapidly advanced to the Mahi Seeing, on the one hand, the vast army of the enemy and, on the other, the indomitable prowess of the Chalukya force, the people were full of doubt and could not foresee the result. The enemy burnt villages on their way, and the volume of smoke that rose up in the air showed the position of their camp to the terrified people and enabled them to direct their movements accordingly. The Yadavas overran the country about Bharoch while the plentiful crops were still standing in the fields, but the king of

[16] Arch Surv of W I., Vol III, p 85

Gujarat did not consider them unconquerable."[17] In the meanwhile, however, four kings of Marvad rose against Lavanaprasada and his son Viradhavala, and the chiefs of Godhra and Lata, who had united their forces with theirs, abandoned them and joined the Marvad princes In these circumstances Lavanaprasada suddenly stopped his march and turned backwards.[18] The Yadava army, however, did not, according to Somesvara, advance farther, but he gives no reason whatever, observing only that "deer do not follow a lion's path even when he has left it"[19] But if the invasion spread such terror over the country as Somesvara himself represents and the army of Singhana was so large, it is impossible to conceive how it could have ceased to advance when the Gurjara prince retreated, unless he had agreed to pay tribute or satisfied the Yadava commander in some other way In a manuscript recently discovered of a work containing forms of letters, deeds, patents &c, there is a specimen of a treaty with the names of Simhana and Lavanaprasada as parties to it, from which it appears that a treaty of that nature must actually have been concluded between them[20] The result of the expedition, therefore, was that Lavanaprasada had to submit and conclude a treaty of alliance with Singhana

[17] Kirtikaumudi IV, Stanzas 43-53
[18] *Ib*, St 55 60 [19] *Ib*, St 63
[20] This work is entitled Lekhapanchasika, and the manuscript was purchased by me for Government last year The first leaf is wanting and the colophon does not contain the name of the author The manuscript, however, is more than four hundred years old, being transcribed in 1536 of the Vikrama Samvat For the variable terms in the forms given by the author, he often uses the usual expression *amuka*, meaning 'some one" or "such a one" This general expression, however, is not used to indicate the date and we have in all the forms one date, *viz*, 15 Sudi of Vaisakha in the year of Vikrama 1288, except in one case where it is the 3rd Sudi This probably was the date when the author wrote Similarly when giving the form of a grant inscribed on copperplates, the author in order probably to make the form clear, uses real and specific names He gives the genealogy of the Chaulukya kings of Anahilapattana from Mularaja to Bhima II and then introduces Lavanaprasada, whom he calls Lavanyaprasada and styles a Mahamandalesvara, as the prince making the grant Similarly in giving the form of a treaty of alliance called *yamalapattra*, the persons who are introduced as parties to it are Singhana and Lavanyaprasada and the form runs thus —

संवत् १२८८ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि १५ सोमेऽद्येह श्रीमद्विजयकटके महाराजाधिराजश्रीमत्सिंहणदेवस्य महामण्डलेश्वरराणकश्रीलावण्यप्रसादस्य च। संराज-(साम्राज्य or सम्राट्)कुलश्रीश्रीमत्सिंहदेवेन महामण्डलेश्वरराणश्रीलावण्यप्रसादेन पूर्वरूढ्यात्मीय २ (i.e, आत्मीय again) देशेषु रहणीयं। केनापि कस्यापि भूमि नाक्रमणीया,

"On this day the 15th Sudi of Vaisakha, in the year Samvat 1288,

SECOND INVASION

This invasion of Gujarat must have been one of the earlier ones alluded to in the Ambem inscription, and Kholesvara himself must have been the commander of the Yadava army on the occasion For Lavanaprasada is said to have declared himself independent of his original master Bhima II. of Anahilapattana about the year 1276 Vikrama,[21] corresponding to 1141 Saka, which was about the ninth or tenth year of Singhana's reign, and the work in which the treaty mentioned above occurs was composed in 1288 Vikrama, *i e* 1153 Saka. But the expedition under the command of Rama, the son of Kholesvara, must have been sent a short time before Saka 1160, the date of the Ambem inscription. For Rama's son is represented to have been a minor under the guardianship of that chief's sister Lakshmi, who governed the principality in the name of the boy Rama, therefore, had not died so many years before Saka 1160 as to allow of his boy having attained his majority by that time On the occasion of this expedition Visaladeva, the son of Viradhavala, was the sovereign of Gujarat For in an inscription of his he boasts of his having been "the submarine fire that dried up the ocean of Singhana's army,"[22] and he must have succeeded his father about the year 1292 Vikrama corresponding to Saka 1157 [23] The foundation of his boast was probably the fact of Rama's having been killed in the battle What the ultimate result was, however, the inscription does not inform us

in the Camp of Victory, [a treaty] between the paramount king of kings, the prosperous Simhana and the Mahamandalesvara Ranaka, the prosperous Lavanyaprasada Simhana whose patrimony is paramount sovereignty, and the Mahamandalesvara Rana the prosperous Lavanyaprasada should according to former usage confine themselves, each to his own country, neither should invade the country of the other." The treaty then provides that when either of them is taken up by an enemy, the armies of both should march to his release, that if a prince from either country ran away into the other with some valuable thing, he should not be allowed quarter, &c Now, it is extremely unlikely that the author of the work should introduce these persons in his form unless he had seen or heard of such a treaty between them Simhana is but another form of Singhana, and he is spoken of as a paramount sovereign The treaty, it will be seen, was concluded in the "victorious camp" which is a clear reference to the invasion described by Somesvara

In रहणीयं we have, I think, the vernacular root रह "to remain," "to live" For further details see my Report on the search for manuscripts during 1882 83, pp 39 and 225

[21] Ind Ant, Vol VI, p 190

[22] Int Ant, Vol VI, pp 191 and 212

[23] Viradhavala, it is said, died not long before Vastupala The death of the latter took place in Vikrama 1297 Vastupala was minister to

CONQUESTS IN THE SOUTH

Singhana appointed one Bichana or Bicha, the son of Chikka and younger brother of Malla, to be governor of the southern provinces and his viceroy there He fought with his master's enemies in the south as Kholesvara did in the north and kept them in check Bichana is represented to have humbled the Rattas who were petty feudatories in the Southern Maratha Country, the Kadambas of Konkan, *i e* of Goa, the Guttas sprung from the ancient Guptas, who held a principality in the south, the Pandyas, the Hoysalas, and the chiefs of other southern princes, and to have erected a triumphal column on the banks of the Kaveri [24] The date of the grant in which all this is recorded is Saka 1160 or A D 1238

SINGHANA'S TITLES

It thus appears that the Yadava empire became in the time of Singhana as extensive as that ruled over by the ablest monarchs of the preceding dynasties The full titles of a paramount sovereign are given to Singhana in his inscriptions, such as "the support of the whole world," "the lover of the earth (*Prithvivallabha*)," and "king of kings" Since Krishna, the eighth incarnation of Vishnu, is represented in the Puranas to have belonged to the Yadava family, the princes of Devagiri called themselves *Vishnuvamsodbhava*, [25] and as Krishna and his immediate descendants reigned at Dvaraka, they assumed the title of *Dvaravatipuravaradhisvara*, "the supreme lord of Dvaravati, the best of cities" [26] Changadeva the grandson of Bhaskaracharya and son of Lakshmidhara was chief astrologer to Singhana [27]

JAITRAPALA, SINGHANA'S SON, DIED BEFORE HIM

Singhana's son was Jaitugi or Jaitrapala, who "was the abode of all arts, and was thus the very moon in opposition, full of all the digits that had come down to the earth, to protect it He was death to hostile kings and firm in unequal fights" [28] But if he protected the earth at all he must have done so during the lifetime of his father as *Yuvaraja*, for the latest date of Singhana is Saka 1169, and in a copper-plate inscription of his grandson and Jaitugi's son Krishna, Saka 1175, *Pramadi-*

Visaladeva also or some time We might, therefore, refer the accession of the latter to Vikrama 1292 Ind Ant., Vol VI, p 190

[24] Jour B B R A S Vol XV, pp 386 7, and Vol XII, p 43

[25] *i e*, "of the race of Vishnu"

[26] Graham's Report Ins No 10, and Jour B B R A S, Vol XII, p 7

[27] Jour R A S Vol I N S p 415 [28] Appendix C II. st 7.

Samvatsara, is stated to be the seventh of his reign, so that Krishna began to reign in Saka 1169 corresponding to 1247 A D.[29] And in the longer of the two historical introductions to the Vratakhanda, Jaitugi is not mentioned at all. After Singhana, we are told that his grandsons Krishna and Mahadeva came to the throne [30]

KRISHNA

Krishna's Prakrit name was Kanhâra, Kanhara, or Kandhara, He is represented to have been the terror of the kings of Malava, Gujarat, and Konkan, to have "established the king of Telunga," and to have been the sovereign of the country of the Chola king [31] But nothing particular is mentioned about him in the Vratakhanda, and he is, in general terms, said to have "conquered a great many enemies in bloody battles in which numbers of horses and elephants were engaged, to have reduced some to captivity and compelled others to seek refuge in forests, and, having thus finished the work of vanquishing the series of earthly kings, to have marched to the heavenly world to conquer Indra " [32] Krishna performed a great many sacrifices and thus "brought fresh strength to the Vedic ceremonial religion which in the course of time had lost its hold over the people " In a copperplate grant dated Saka 1171, found in the Belgaum Taluka, Malla or Mallisetti is spoken of as the elder brother of Bicha or Bichana, the viceroy of Singhana in the south, and was himself governor of the province of Kuhundi He lived at Mudugala, probably the modern Mudgala, and gave, by the consent of Krishna his sovereign, lands in the village of Bagevadi to thirty-two Brahmans of different Gotras [33] Among the family names of these it is interesting to observe some borne by modern Maharashtra Brahmans, such as *Patavardhana* and *Ghaisasa*, prevalent among Chitpavanas, and *Ghalisasa*, *Ghalisa*, and *Pathaka*, among Desasthas The name *Trivadi* also occurs, but there is no trace of it among Maratha Brahmans, while it is borne by Brahmans in Gujarat and Upper Hindustan. In another grant, Chaunda the son of Bichana, who succeeded to the office and title of his father, is represented to have personally solicited king Krishna at Devagiri to permit him to grant the village mentioned therein [34]

[29] Jour B B R A S Vol XII, p 42 [30] Appendix C I st 45
[31] Jour B B R A S Vol XII p 38
[32] That is, "left this world," "died." Appendix C I st 11
[33] Jour B B R A S Vol XII, p 27 Ind Ant, Vol VII p. 304 Kuhundi corresponds to a part of the modern Belgaum district.
[34] Jour B B R A S, Vol XII, p 43

MAHADEVA: CONQUEST OF NORTHERN KONKAN

Krishna was succeeded by his brother Mahadeva in 1182 Saka or 1260 A D "He was a tempestuous wind that blew away the heap of cotton in the shape of the king of the Tailanga country, the prowess of his arm was like a thunderbolt that shattered the mountain in the shape of the pride of the swaggering Gurjara, he destroyed the king of Konkan with ease, and reduced the arrogant sovereigns of Karnata and Lata to mockery"[35] The king of Karnata here mentioned was probably a Hoysala Yadava of Halebid "King Mahadeva never killed a woman, a child, or one who submitted to him; knowing this and being greatly afraid of him, the Andhras placed a woman on the throne, and the king of Malava also for the same reason installed a child in his position, and forthwith renouncing all his possessions, practised false penance for a long time"[36]

"Soma, the lord of Konkan, though skilled in swimming in the sea, was together with his forces drowned in the rivers formed by the humour trickling from the temples of Mahadeva's maddened elephants" "Mahadeva deprived Somesvara of his kingdom and his life"[37] We have seen that Krishna fought with the king of Konkan, but it appears he did not subjugate the country thoroughly His successor Mahadeva, however, again invaded it with an army consisting of a large number of elephants Soma or Somesvara was completely defeated on land and his power broken, whereupon he appears to have betaken himself to his ships There somehow he met with his death,[38] probably by being drowned, for it is said that "even the sea did not protect him" and that "he betook himself to the submarine fire," thinking the fire of Mahadeva's prowess to be more unbearable[39] Konkan was thereupon annexed to the territories of the Yadavas Hence it is that the country was governed by a viceroy appointed by the Devagiri king during the time of Mahadeva's successor, as we find from the Thana plates published by Wathen[40] The Somesvara whom Mahadeva subdued probably belonged to the Silahara dynasty of Thana that had been ruling over that part of Konkan for a considerable period, though our present information with regard to it does not extend beyond Aparaditya, who reigned in 1109 Saka.[41] Mahadeva like his

[35] Appendix C I st 48 and II st 13 [36] *Ib*. II st 14 and 15
[37] *Ib* I st 50, and II st 17 [38] *Ib* I st 49
[39] *Ib* I st 51 and II st 18
[40] Jour R A S (old series) Vol V, p 177
[41] Jour B B R A S Vol XIII p 13 Since the above was written,

predecessors reigned at Devagiri, which is represented as the capital of the dynasty to which he belonged and as situated in the country called Seuna on the borders of Dandakaranya. "It was the abode of the essence of the beauty of the three worlds and its houses rivalled the peaks of the Mountain tenanted by gods, and the Seuna country deserved all the sweet and ornamental epithets that might be applied to it."[42] At Pandharpur there is an inscription dated 1192 Saka, *Pramoda Samvatsara,* in which Mahadeva is represented to have been reigning at the time He is there called *Praudhapratapa Chakravartin,* or "Paramount sovereign possessing great valour." The inscription records the performance of an *Aptoryama* sacrifice by a Brahman chief of the name of Kesava belonging to the Kasyapa Gotra

RAMACHANDRA OF RAMADEVA

Mahadeva was succeeded in the year 1193 Saka or 1271 A D. by his nephew Ramachandra, the son of Krishna He is called Ramadeva or Ramaraja also In the Thana copper-plate grants he is spoken of as "a lion to the proud elephant in the shape of the lord of Malava," from which it would appear that he was at war with that Country[43] Several other epithets, such as "the elephant that tore up by the root the tree in the shape of the Tailanga king" occur in the grants; but they are given as mere *birudas* or titles which were inherited by Ramachandra from his predecessors, and do not point to any specific events in his reign His inscriptions are found as far to the south as the confines of Maisur, so that the empire he ruled over was as large as it ever was There is in the Dekkan College Library a manuscript of the Amarakosa written in Konkan on Tala leaves during his reign in the year 4398 of the Kaliyuga corresponding to Saka 1219 and A. D 1297 His viceroy in Konkan in Saka 1212 was a Brahman named Krishna belonging to the Bharadvaja Gotra, whose grandfather Padmanabha first acquired royal favour and rose into importance in the reign of Singhana One of the Thana grants was issued by him, and the other dated 1194 Saka by Achyuta Nayakar, who was also a

the Thana volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer have been published In vol XIII part II, p 422, occurs a revised genealogical table of the Thana Silaharas based on inscriptions which have recently been discovered but not yet published The last king there mentioned is Somesvara and his dates are Saka 1171 and 1182

[42] Appendix C II st 19 and 20 "The mountain tenanted by gods" may be the Himalaya or Meru In this epithet there is a reference to the etymology of Devagiri which means "a mountain of or having gods"

[43] Referred to above

Brahman and who appears to have been a petty chief and held some office which is not stated. Where he resided is also not clear.

HEMADRI, THE MINISTER OF MAHADEVA AND RAMADEVA

Hemadri, the celebrated author, principally of works on Dharmasastra, flourished during the reigns of Mahadeva and Ramachandra and was minister to both. In the introduction to his works on Dharmasastra he is called Mahadeva's *Srikaranadhipa* or *Srikaranaprabhu*. In the Thana copper-plate of 1194 Saka also, he is said to have taken upon himself the *adhipatya* or controllership of all *karana* This office seems to have been that of chief secretary or one who wrote and issued all orders on behalf of his master and kept the state record Hemadri is also called *Mantrin* or counsellor generally In his other works and in the Thana plate Ramaraja instead of Mahadeva is represented as his master Mahadeva's genealogy and his own are given at the beginning of his works on Dharma. Sometimes the former begins with Singhana, sometimes with Bhillama, while in the Danakhanda the exploits of Mahadeva alone are enumerated The description of the several princes is often couched in general terms and consists of nothing but eulogy But the Vratakhanda, which was the first work composed by Hemadri, contains, as we have seen, a very valuable account of the dynasty from the very beginning and by far the greater portion of it is undoubtedly historical

HEMADRI'S WORK

Hemadri was a Brahmin of the Vatsa Gotra His father's name was Kamadeva, grandfather's, Vasudeva, and great-grandfather's, Vamana [44] He is described in terms of extravagant praise ; and the historical truth that may be gleaned from it appears to be this Hemadri was very liberal to Brahmans and fed numbers of them every day He was a man of learning himself, and learned men found a generous patron in him He is represented to be religious and pious, and at the same time very brave He evidently possessed a great deal of influence Whether the voluminous works attributed to him were really written by him may well be questioned, but the idea at least of reducing the religious practices and observances that had descended from times immemorial to a system must certainly have been his, and must have been carried out under his supervision

[44] Parisheshakhanda, Ed Bib. Ind, pp 4-5

CHATURVARGA CHINTAMANI : OTHER WORKS

His great work is called the *Chaturvarga Chintamani*, which is divided into four parts, viz, (1) *Vratakhanda*, containing an exposition of the religious fasts and observances; (2) *Danakhanda*, in which the several gifts to which great religious importance is attached are explained; (3) *Tirthakhanda*, which treats of pilgrimages to holy places; and (4) *Mokshakhanda*, in which the way to final deliverance is set forth. There is a fifth *Khanda* or part which is called *Pariseshakhanda* or appendix, which contains voluminous treatises on (1) the deities that should be worshipped, (2) on Sraddhas or sufferings to the manes, (3) on the determination of the proper times and seasons for the performance of religious rites, and (4) on *Prayaschitta* or atonement All these works are replete with a great deal of information and innumerable quotations They are held in great estimation and future writers on the same subjects draw largely from them A commentary called *Ayurvedarasayana* on Vagbhata's medical treatise and another on Bopadeva's *Muktaphala*, a work expounding Vaishnava doctrines, are also attributed to him

BOPADEVA

This Bopadeva was one of Hemadri's protegees and the author of the work mentioned above and of another entitled Harilila, which contains an abstract of the Bhagavata Both of these were written at the request of Hemadri as the author himself tells us [45] Bopadeva was the son of a physician named Kesava and the pupil of Dhanesa His father as well as his teacher lived at a place called Sartha situated on the banks of the Varada Bopadeva, therefore, was a native of Berar Bopadeva, the author of a treatise on grammar called *Mugdhabodha*, appears to be the same person as this, since the names of the father and the teacher there mentioned are the same as those we find in these works A few medical treatises also, written by Bopadeva, have come down to us.

HEMADPANT OF THE MARATHAS

Hemadri has not yet been forgotten in the Maratha country He is popularly known by the name of Hemadpant and old temples throughout the country of a certain structure are attributed to him He is said to have introduced the Modi

[45] यद्विद्वद्धनेशशिष्येण भिषक्केशवसूनुना । हेमाद्रिर्बोपदेवेन मुक्ताफलमचीकरत् ॥
श्रीमद्भागवतस्कन्धाध्यायार्थादि निरूप्यते । विदुषा बोपदेवेन मन्त्रिहेमाद्रितुष्टये ॥
Rajendralal's notices of Skr MSS, Vol II, pp 48 and 200.

or the current form of writing and is belived to have brought it from Lanka or Ceylon As chief secretary he had to superintend the writing of official papers and records, and it is possible he may have introduced some improvements in the mode of writing

JNANESVARA, THE MARATHA SADHU

The great Maratha *sadhu* or saint Jnanesvara or Dnyanesvara as his name is ordinarily pronounced, flourished during the reign of Ramachandra At the end of his Marathi commentary on the Bhagavadgita he tells us "In the Kali age, in the country of Maharashtra and on the southern bank of the Godavari there is a sacred place five *kos* in circuit, the holiest in the three worlds, where exists Mahalaya, who is the thread that sustains the life of the world There, king Ramachandra, a scion of the Yadu race and the abode of all arts, dispenses justice, and there, a vernacular garb was prepared for the Gita by Jnanadeva, the son of Nivrittinatha, sprung from the family of Mahesa"[46] The date of the completion of the work is given as Saka 1212 or A D 1290, when we know Ramachandra was on the throne

CONQUEST OF THE COUNTRY BY THE MUSSALMANS

Ramachandra was the last of the independent Hindu sovereigns of the Dekkan The Mussalmans had been firmly established at Delhi for about a century, and though they had not yet turned their attention to the Dekkan it was not possible they should refrain from doing so for a long time Alla-uddin Khilji, the nephew of the reigning king who had been appointed governor of Karra, was a person of a bold and adventurous spirit In the year 1294 A D or Saka 1216 he collected a small army of 8000 men and marched straight to the south till he reached Ellichpur, and then suddenly turning to the west

[46] ऐसें युगीं परि कलीं । आणि महाराष्ट्रमंडलीं ।
श्रीगोदावरीच्या कूलीं । दक्षिणलीं ॥ १ ॥
त्रिभुवनैकपवित्र । अनादि पंचक्रोशक्षेत्र ।
जेथ जगाचें जीवनसूत्र । श्रीमहालया असे ॥ २ ॥
तेथ यदुवंशविलास । जो सकलकलानिवास ।
न्यायातें पोषी क्षितीश । श्रीरामचंद्र ॥ ३ ॥
तेथ महेशान्वयसंभूतें । श्रीनिवृत्तिनाथसुतें ।
कलें ज्ञानदेवें गीते । देशीकार लेणें ॥ ४ ॥

appeared in a short time before Devagiri. The king never expected such an attack and was consequently unprepared to resist it. According to one account he was even absent from his capital. He hastily collected about 4000 troops and threw himself between the city and the invading army. But being aware he could not hold out for a long time, he took measures for provisioning the fort and retired into it The city was then taken by the Mahomedans and plundered, and the fort was closely invested Alla-ud-din had taken care to spread a report that his troops were but the advanced guard of the army of the king which was on its way to the Dekkan. Ramachandra, therefore, despairing of a successful resistence, began to treat for peace Alla-ud-din, who was conscious of his own weakness, received his proposals with gladness and agreed to raise the siege and retire on condition of receiving from the king a large quantity of gold In the meantime, Ramachandra's son Samkara collected a large army and was marching to the relief of the fort, when Alla-ud-din left about a thousand men to continue the siege and proceeded with the rest to a short distance from the town and gave battle to Samkara's forces. The Hindus were numerically superior and forced the Mahomedans to fall back, but the detachment left to observe the movements of the garrison joined them at this time, and Samkara's followers thinking it to be the main army that was on its way from Delhi were seized with a panic, and a confusion ensued which resulted in the complete defeat of the Hindus

Ramachandra or Ramadeva then continued the negotiations, but Alla-ud-din raised his demands The Hindu king's allies were preparing to march to his assistance, but in the meanwhile Ramachandra discovered that the sacks of grains that had been hastily thrown into the fort really contained salt, and since the provisions had been well nigh exhausted he was anxious to hasten the conclusion of peace. It was therefore agreed that he should pay to Alla-ud-din "600 maunds of pearls, two of jewels, 1000 of silver, 4000 pieces of silk, and other precious things," cede Elichpur and its dependencies, and send an annual tribute to Delhi On the receipt of the valuable treasure given to him by the Devagiri prince, Alla-ud-din retired

Some time after, Alla-ud-din assassinated his aged uncle and usurped the throne. King Ramachandra did not send the tribute for several years, and to punish him the Delhi monarch despatched an expedition of 30,000 horse under the command of Malik Kafur, a slave who had risen high in his favour Malik Kafur accomplished the long and difficult

march "over stones and hills without drawing rein," and arrived at Devagiri in March 1307 A D, or about the end of Saka 1228 A fight ensued in which the Hindus were defeated and Ramadeva was taken prisoner[47] According to another account, Malik Kafur came laying waste the country about Devagiri, and the Hindu king observing the futility of resistance surrendered himself Ramachandra was sent to Delhi, where he was detained for six months and afterwards released with all honour. Henceforward he sent the tribute regularly and remained faithful to the Mahomedans In Saka 1231 or A.D 1309, Malik Kafur was again sent to the Dekkan to subdue Tailangana On the way he stopped at Devagiri, where he was hospitably entertained by the king

Ramadeva died this year and was succeeded by his son Samkara He discontinued sending the annual tribute to Delhi and Malik Kafur was again sent to the Dekkan in Saka 1234 or A D 1312 to reduce him to submission He put Samkara to death, laid waste his kingdom, and fixed his residence at Devagiri.

In the latter years of Alla-ud-din his nobles, disgusted with the overwhelming influence which Malik Kafur had acquired over him, revolted In the meantime Alla-ud-din died and was succeeded by his third son Mubarik The opportunity was seized by Harapala, the son-in-law of Ramachandra, who raised an insurrection and drove away some of the Mahomedan governors In 1240 Saka or A D 1318 Mubarik marched to the Dekkan in person to suppress the revolt. He took Harapala prisoner and inhumanly flayed him alive

Thus ended the last Hindu or Maratha monarchy of the Dekkan, and the country became a province of the Mahomedan empire

[47] Elliot's History of India, Vol III, p 77

Genealogy of the latter Yadavas or the Yadavas of Devagiri

Mallugi.
|
1. BHILLAMA
(Saka 1109-1113 or A.D. 1187-1191)
|
2. JAITRAPALA or Jaitugi.
(Saka 1113-1132 or A.D. 1191-1210.)
|
3. SINGHANA
(Saka 1132-1169 or A.D. 1210-1247.)
|
Jaitrapala or Jaitugi.
|

4. KRISHNA, Kanhara or Kandhara. (Saka 1169-1182 or A.D. 1247-1260.)
|
6. RAMACHANDRA or Ramadeva,
(Saka 1193-1231 or A D. 1271-1309.)
|
7. SAMKARA (Saka 1231-1234 or A.D. 1309-1312.)
|
Brother-in-law, Harapala, killed in Saka 1240 or A.D. 1318.

5. MAHADEVA.
(Saka 1182-1193 or A.D. 1260-1271.)

SECTION XVI

The Silaharas of Kolhapur

Three branches of the Silahara family

Three district families of chiefs or minor princes with the name of Silara or Silahara ruled over different parts of the country. They all traced their origin to Jimutavahana the son of Jimutaketu, who was the king of a certain class of demi-gods called Vidyadharas, and who saved the life of a serpent named Samkhachuda by offering himself as a victim to Garuda in his place [1] One of the titles borne by the princes of all the three families was *Tagarapuravaradhisvara* or "lords of Tagara, the best of cities," which fact has a historical significance We have seen that Kamvadeva, the donor of the Rajapur grant, who was a Chalukya, called himself *Kalyanapuravaradhisvara*, and one of the titles of the later Kadambas after they had been reduced to vassalage and of the rulers of Goa was *Banavasipuravaradhisvara* As these titles signify that the bearers of them belonged to the families that once held supreme power at Kalyana and Banavasi, so does *Tagarapuravaradhisvara* show that the Silaharas who bore the title belonged to a family that once possessed supreme sovereignty and reigned at Tagara

Tagara, the original seat of the family

In one Silahara grant it is expressly stated that "the race known by the name of Silahara was that of the kings who were masters of Tagara "[2] As mentioned in a former section, Tagara was a famous town in the early centuries of the Christian era and retained its importance till a very late period, but unfortunately the town has not yet been identified, nor have we found any trace of the Silahara kingdom with Tagara as its capital Perhaps it existed between the close of the Andhrabhritya period and the foundation of the Chalukya power

The North and the South Konkan branches

The three Silahara dynasties of Mahamandalesvaras or dependent princes which we have been considering were founded in times of the Rashtrakutas One of them ruled over Northern Konkan, which was composed of fourteen hundred villages, the chief of them being Puri, which probably was at one time

[1] This story has been dramatized in the Sanskrit play Nagananda attributed to Sri-Harsha

[2] Grant translated by Taylor and published in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol III शिलाहाराख्यवंशोयं तगरेश्वरभूभुजाम् ।

the capital of the province. As represented in an inscription at Kanheri noticed before, Konkan was assigned to Pullasakti by Amoghavarsha a few years before Saka 775 Another Silahara family established itself in Southern Konkan The founder or first chief named Sanaphulla enjoying the favour of Krishnaraja acquired the territory between the sea-coast and the Sahya range.[3] There were three Rashtrakuta princes of the name of Krishnaraja, but the one meant here must be the first prince of that name who reigned in the last quarter of the seventh century of the Saka era or between 753 and 775 A.D.[4] The genealogy of this dynasty is given in the Kharepatan grant, the last prince mentioned in which was on the throne in Saka 930 while the Chalukya king Satyasraya was reigning The capital must have been situated somewhere near Kharepatan.

The Kolhapur branch—Jatiga, the founder

The third Silahara family the history of which falls within the scope of this paper ruled over the districts of Kolhapur, Miraj, and Karhad, and in later times Southern Konkan was added to its territory This dynasty was the latest of the three and was founded about the time of the downfall of the Rashtra-

[3] Kharepatan plates, Jour B B R A S, Vol I, p 217 The name of the first chief is read "Jhallaphulla" by Bal Gangadhara Sastri, but the first letter looks like स though there is some difference That difference, however, brings it nearer to श The letter which was read by him as झ is clearly ण For देशसंभाविनी I find देशसंसाधिनी on the plates.

[4] From Sanaphulla the first chief to Ratta the last there are ten generations Somehow each succeeding chief in this line happens to be the son of the preceding Though in a line of princes some of whom bear to others the relation of brother or uncle the average duration of each reign is from 19 to 21 years, the average duration of a generation is always much longer, and varies from 26 to 28 years. One can verify this by taking any line of princes or chiefs in the world Ratta was on the throne in Saka 930, and supposing him to have begun to reign about that time, nine generations or about 27×9 years must have passed away from the date of the foundation of the family to Saka 930 Subtracting $27 \times 9 = 243$ from 930, we have Saka 687 as the approximate date of Sanaphulla If we take the average to be 26, we shall have 696 as the date In either case we are brought to the reign of Krishna I The dates of Krishna II. range from Saka 799 to 833 and of Krishna III from Saka 867 to 878, and therefore neither of these will do Even if we take the other average of a reign in the present case and subtract $19 \times 9 = 171$ from 930, we get Saka 799, which will not take us to the reign of Krishna II, whose earliest date is Saka 799 while the latest of his predecessor is Saka 795 The Kharepatan family therefore was the oldest of the three, and was founded in the reign of Krishna I

Bal Sastri read the name of the last chief in the grant as Rahu; but the second syllable of the name is certainly not हु the form of which in the grant itself is different It looks exactly like the ट्ट in the word परमभट्टारक and आघट्टनानि which occur elsewhere in the grant.

kuta empire, as will be hereafter shown. The first prince of the family was Jatiga, who was succeeded by his son Nayimma or Nayivarman Nayimma was followed by his son Chandraraja, and Chandraraja by his son Jatiga, who is called "the lion of the hill-fortress of Panhala."[5] Jatiga's son and successor was Gomka, otherwise called Gomkala or Gokalla. He is represented to have been the ruler of the districts of Karahata-Kundi[6] and Mairinja and to have harassed Konkan. He had three brothers named Guvala, Kirtiraja, and Chandraditya, of whom the first at least appears to have succeeded him. Then followed Marasimha the son of Gomka, whose grant first published by Wathen is dated Saka 980. He is represented to have constructed temples, and to have been reigning at his capital, the fort of Khiligili, which probably was another name of Panhala in the Kolhapur districts Marasimha was succeeded by his son Guvala and he by his brother Bhoja I Bhoja's two brothers Ballala and Gandaraditya governed the principality after him in succession

An inscription at Kolhapur mentions another brother named Gangadeva and the order in which the brothers are spoken of is Guvala, Ganga, Ballala, Bhoja, and Gandaraditya[7] But the grants of Gandaraditya and Bhoja II agree in representing Bhoja as the elder and Ballala as the younger brother, and in omitting Ganga

GANDARADITYA

Of all these brothers the youngest Gandaraditya seems to have been the most famous He is the donor, as indicated above, in the grant published by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji,[8] and in others recorded on stone at Kolhapur and in the districts His dates are Saka 1032, 1040, and 1058[9] He ruled over the country of Mirinja along with the seven Khollas and over Konkan, which thus seems to have been subjugated by the Kolhapur Silaharas before 1032 Probably it was added to their dominions in the time of Gomka or soon after From the

[5] See the grant of Gandaraditya published in Jour B B R A S, Vol XIII, p 2, of Marasimha in Jour R A S, Vol IV, p 280, and Arch Surv W I, No. 10, p 102, and of Bhoja II in Trans Lit Soc Bom, Vol III

[6] Marasimha's grant Kundi or Kuhundi was some part of the Belgaum district see note 33, Sec XV Mairinja is Miraj

[7] Inscription No 4, Major Graham's Report [8] In *loc cit.*

[9] Bhagvanlal's plates, and Inscriptions Nos 1, 2 and 3, Major Graham's Report The Saka in Bhagvanlal's grant and No 1 of Major Graham's inscriptions is the same, *i e*, 1032, though in the translation of the latter it is erroneously given as 1037, but the cyclic years are different As to this see Appendix B

grant of Bhoja II it appears that the part of Konkan ruled over by the Dekkan Silaharas was the same as that which was in the possession of the family mentioned in the Kharepatan grant,[10] wherefore it follows that the Silaharas of southern Konkan were uprooted by their kinsmen of the Kolhapur districts. Gandaraditya fed a hundred thousand Brahmanas at Prayaga, the modern Allahabad. He built a Jaina temple at Ajarem, a village in the Kolhapur districts,[11] and constructed a large tank, called after him *Gandasamudra* or "the sea of Ganda," at Irukudi in the Miraj district, and on its margin placed idols of Isvara or Siva, Buddha, and Arhat (Jina), for the maintenance of each of which he assigned a piece of land. Several other charities of his, in which the Jainas also had their share, are mentioned, and his bountiful nature as well as good and just government are extolled[12] He first resided at a place called Tiravada and afterwards at Valavata, which has been identified with the present Valavdem[13]

VIJAYARKA

Gandaraditya was succeeded by his son Vijayarka, who was on the throne in Saka 1065 and 1073[14] He restored the chiefs of the territory about Thana to their principality which they had lost, and replaced the princes of Goa on the throne and fortified their position which had become shaky.[15] He assisted Vijjana[16] or Vijjala in his revolt against his masters, the Chalukyas of Kalyana, and enabled him to acquire supreme sovereignty This event, as we have seen, took place about 1079 Saka

BHOJA II

After Vijayarka, his son Bhoja II, became Mahamandalesvara and reigned in the fort of Panhala His dates are Saka 1101, 1109, 1112, 1113, 1114, and 1127[17] He granted the village of

[10] For the village granted is Kaseli, which is near Jaitapur and Kharepatan

[11] Ind Ant, vol x, p 76, note

[12] His grant in *loc cit*

[13] Bhagvanlal's plates and Major Graham's Ins No 2

[14] Ins Nos 4 and 5, Major Graham's Report

[15] Grant of Bhoja II in *loc cit*

[16] In the transcript of the inscription in Vol IV Trans Lt. Soc, Bom, we have Vikshana for Vijjana There is no question this must be a mistake of the reader of the inscription or of the engraver For the Kalachuri usurper at Kalyana is called both Vijjala or Vijjana in his inscriptions, and there was none who about the date of Vijayarka obtained the position of a Chakravartin or paramount sovereign, as stated in the inscription

[17] Major Graham's Ins Nos. 6, 7. 8, the grant, and Ind Ant, vol x., p 76, note.

Kaseli in Konkan near Kharepatan on the application of his son Gandaraditya for feeding Brahmans regularly[18]; and gave lands for Hindu and Jaina temples in other places also Two of the grantees in one case at Kolhapur are called Karahatakas, which shows that the caste of Karhade Brahmans had come to be recognized in those days; and two others bore the family name of *Ghaisasa,* which is now found among Chitpavan Brahmans[19] In the reign of Bhoja II, a Jaina Pandit of the name of Somadeva composed in Saka 1127 a commentary entitled *Sabdarnavachandrika*[20] on Pujyapada's Sanskrit Grammar The Kolhapur chiefs enjoyed a sort of semi-independence Vijjala, the new sovereign at Kalyana, however, endeavoured probably to establish his authority over Bhoja But that chief was not content to be his feudatory, and to reduce him to subjection Vijjala marched against Kolhapur a little before his assassination in Saka 1089[21] On the establishment of the power of the Devagiri Yadavas, Bhoja seems similarly to have assumed independence, but Singhana subdued him completely, and annexed the principality to the Yadava empire[22]

Approximate date of the foundation of the Kolhapur branch

The number of generations from Jatiga, the founder of the dynasty, to Gandaraditya is seven The latest date of the latter is Saka 1058 and the earliest of his successor Vijayarka is 1065, so that if we suppose Gandaraditya to have died in 1060 and allow about 27 years to each generation, we shall arrive at Saka 871 as the approximate date of the foundation of the family At that time the reigning Rashtrakuta sovereign was Krishna III, the uncle of Kakkala the last prince

Religion of the Kolhapur Silaharas

One of the many titles used by the Silaharas was *Sriman-Mahalakshmi-labdha-vara-prasada, i e,* "one who has obtained the favour of a boon from the glorious Mahalakshmi" Mahalakshmi was thus their tutelary deity, and they were clearly the

[18] There are, however, some mistakes here in the transcript of the grant and the sense is not clear, though it appears pretty certain that it was the village that was granted and not a field in it or anything else, from the fact that the boundaries of the village are given

[19] Ins No 8, Major Graham's Report

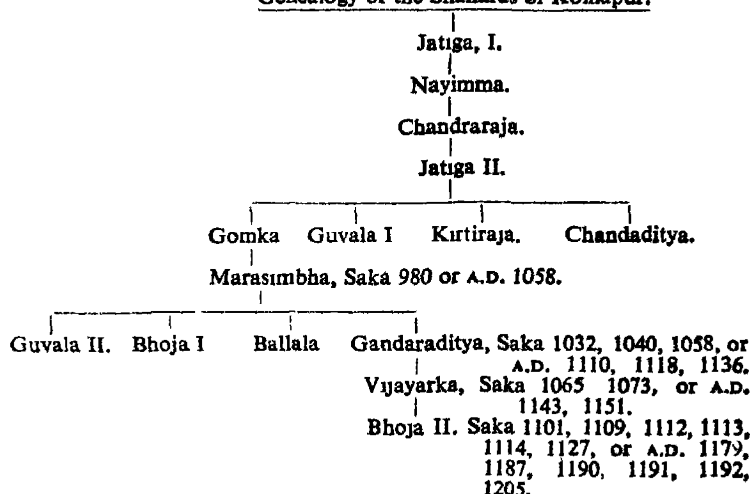
[20] Ind Ant vol x, p 76, note The manuscript here mentioned is in the Dekkan College library and I have seen in it the colophon given in the note

[21] Vijalaraya Charitra in Wilson's Mackenzie MSS., p. 320

[22] Sec xv, pp 82-83

followers of the Puranic and Vedic reilgion; but they patronized both Brahmans and Jainas alike; and their impartiality is strikingly displayed by the fact noticed above of Gandaraditya's having placed an idol of Buddha, whose religion had well nigh become extinct, along with those of the gods worshipped by the other two sects, on the margin of the tank dug by him.

There are at the present day many Maratha families of the name of Selara reduced to poverty, and the name Selaravadi of a station on the railway from Khandala to Poona is also, I beileve, to be traced to the family name of the sovereigns of Tagara.



APPENDIX A

Note on the Gupta Era

In order to render the chronologies of the different dynasties that ruled over western and northern India in the early centuries of the Christian era mutually consistent, it is necessary to discuss the initial date of the Gupta era Albiruni, who accompanied Mahmud of Ghizni in his invasion of Gujarat in the early part of the eleventh century, states that that era was posterior to the Saka by 241 years, and that it was the epoch of the extermination of the Guptas He mentions another era named after Balaba, the initial date of which was the same as that of the Guptas

Now in some of the inscriptions of the Gupta kings and their dependent chiefs the dates are referred to *Guptakala* or the Gupta era, wherefore Albiruni's statement that it was the epoch of their extermination cannot be true This error is regarded as throwing discredit on his other statement, *viz*., that the era was posterior to the Saka by 241 years But it has nothing whatever to do with it Albiruni must have derived his knowledge of the initial date from contemporary evidence, since the era of the Guptas was, as stated by him, one of those ordinarily used in the country in his time, and as his statements regarding the initial dates of the Vikrama and the Saka eras are true, so must that with reference to the Gupta era be true On the other hand his information as regards the event which the Gupta era memorialized must have been based upon the tradition current among the Hindu astronomers of the day, who were his informants Such traditions are often erroneous, as has been proved in many a case Albiruni was also informed that the Saka era was the epoch of the defeat of the Saka king by Vikramaditya This was the tradition as to its origin among Indian astronomers, though it has now given place to another For Sodhala, in his commentary on Bhaskaracharya's Karanakutuhala, a manuscript of which more than four hundred years old exists in the collection made by me for Government last year, tells us that "the epoch when Vikramaditya killed Mlechchhas of the name of Sakas is ordinarily known as the Saka era" But we know that in Mangalisa's inscription at Badami it is spoken of as the era of the "coronation of the Saka king"; that Ravikirti in the inscription at Aihole describes it as the era of the Saka kings and that it is similarly represented in many other places

Albiruni's error therefore as regards the origin of the Gupta era no more invalidates his statement as to its initial date than his error about the origin of the Saka era does his statement about the initial date of that era. The only reasonable course for us under the circumstances is to reject the statement as to the era being an epoch of the extermination of the Guptas and accept that about the initial date of the era But some antiquarians reject both these statements and accept what simply hangs on them and what must fall with them, *viz*, that the Guptas were exterminated in Saka 242, and make elaborate endeavours to find an earlier initial date for the era If the inscriptions show that the era was not posthumous but contemporaneous, we should rather believe that the Guptas rose to power in Saka 242, assigning its due value to the statement of Albiruni, which must have been based on contemporary evidence, that the era began in that year But if instead of that we declare that they ceased to reign in Saka 242, we in effect reject contemporary evidence and accept a mere tradition which in so far as it represents the era to be posthumous has been proved to be erroneous

Again, Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta era and of the Valabhi era was the same seems to some not "at all probable" To my mind the improbability is not so great as to render valueless what clearly is contemporary evidence We all know that the date occurring in a grant of one of the sons of the founder of the dynasty is 207, and we have a large number of grants of subsequent kings with dates posterior to this and in harmony with it So that it is clear that these dates cannot refer to an era dating from the foundation of the dynasty Such a long time as 207 years cannot be considered to have elapsed between the father who founded the dynasty and his son, even supposing him to have been a posthumous son The dates, therefore, are understood to refer to the Gupta era What, then, could have been the Valabhi era, if it was never used by the Valabhi princes during the 275 years or thereabouts of the existence of their dynasty? An era cannot receive the name of a certain line of princes unless used by those princes, at least on a few occasions, and enforced. The era used by the Valabhi princes must be the Valabhi era One certainly would expect that it should be so The only supposition, therefore, on which the whole becomes intelligible is that the era introduced by the Valabhis in Surashtra and used by them was called the Valabhi era by their subjects, and not one dating from the foundation of the dynasty; for such a one, we see, was not used by the Valabhi

princes themselves The era introduced and used by the Valabhis was that of the Guptas, whose dependents they were in the beginning, and hence Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta and Valabhi eras was the same is true From an inscription at Somanath discovered by James Tod, we gather that Saka 242 was the first year of the Valabhi era Hence, therefore, the initial date of the Gupta era was 242 Saka, as stated by Albiruni

The question in this way is, I think, plain enough Still since astronomical calculations have been resorted to to prove the incorrectness of the date given by Albiruni and to arrive at an earlier one so as to place the extinction of the Gupta dynasty in Saka 242, it is necessary to go into the question further The following tests may be used and have been used to determine the correctness of a proposed initial date

1 The date of Budha Gupta's pillar inscription at Eran, which is Thursday, the 12th of Ashadha, in the Gupta year 165.
2 Raja Hastin's inscription dated 156 Gupta, the year of the 12 year cycle of Jupiter being Mahavaisakha
3 Raja Hastin's inscription dated 173 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahasvayuja
4 Raja Hastin's inscription dated 191 Gupta, the year of the 12 year cycle being Mahachaitra
5 Raja Samkshobha's inscription dated 209 Gupta, the year of the 12 year cycle being Mahasvayuja
6 An eclipse of the sun mentioned in the Morvi copper plate grant dated 5th Phalguna Sudi 585 of the Gupta era

Before applying these tests to the initial date given by Albiruni, it must be premised that according to the Arabic author the Gupta era was 241 years posterior to the Saka To convert a Saka date into a Valabhi date, or which is the same thing, into a Gupta date, he tells us to deduct from it the cube of 6 and the square of 5, that is, 241 And proceeding to give actual instances, he says 953 Saka corresponds to 712 Valabhi or Gupta We have thus to add 241 to a Gupta date to arrive at the corresponding Saka date Again, as I shall show in Appendix B, in inscriptions the numerical date indicates, in a large number of instances, the number of years of an era that have elapsed, that is, the *past* year and in about a third of the instances, the *current* year. The year of the cycle, however, whenever it occurs, is as a rule the current year, though in rare cases that also is the past year If, therefore, a past Gupta year is to be converted into the current Saka year, we shall have to add 242 to the former, while if both are current or both past, the difference between them is only 241

Now, as to the first of the above tests, Gupta 165 + 241 = 406 Saka If Albiruni is correct, the 12th Ashadha Sudi of this year should be a Thursday. I asked my friend Professor Keru Lakshman Chhatre to make the calculation for me, and he tells me that it *was* a Thursday Since our astronomical methods are based on the past Saka year, and even our present Saka year 1805 really represents, as I shall show in the next Appendix, the years that have elapsed, the current year being really 1806, Gupta 165 was a past year, as well as Saka 406 Hence only 241 has to be added Saka 406 corresponds to 484 A D General Cunningham takes the Gupta 165 to correspond to 483 A D., adding 240 + 78 = 318 to it, and of course arrives at the result that "the 12th day of Ashadha Sudi was a Friday instead of a Thursday" If, however, he had added 241 + 78 = 319 and taken 484 A D to correspond to Gupta 165, he would have arrived at the correct result

Then as to the dates in years of the 12-year cycle, General Cunningham himself has placed before us the means of verifying them In the tables published by him in Volume X of the Archæological Reports, the cyclic year corresponding to the *current* Christian year is given, and if we subtract 78 from the number representing the year, we shall arrive at the *current* Saka year Now, if we take the Gupta figured dates to represent the years that had elapsed before the cyclic year commenced, (and this way of marking the dates is, as remarked above, the one we usually find), then 173 Gupta, the third date in the above, corresponds to 414 Saka *past* and 415 *current*, 241 being added in the first case, and 242 in the second If we add 78 to 415 we shall get the *current* Christian year, which is 493 Now in General Cunningham's tables we do find the year *Mahasvayuja* given as corresponding to 493 A D. In the same way, 191 Gupta *past* + 242 = 433 Saka *current*, + 78 = 511 A D *current* In the tables we find 511 put down under *Mahachaitra* Similarly 209 Gupta *past* + 242 = 451 Saka *current*, + 78 = 529 A D *current* which was *Mahasvayuja*

Now, as to the first of the dates in the 12-year cycle, 156 Gupta + 242 + 78 is equal to 476 A D, which however is Mahachaitra instead of Mahavaisakha Here there is a discrepancy of one year, but such discrepancies do sometimes occur even in Saka dates and the years of the 60-years cycle given along with them, and some of them will be noticed in the note forming the next Appendix They are probably due to the fact that the frequent use of the past or expired year and also of the current year led sometimes the *past* year to be mistaken for the *current* year, just as we *now* mistake the year 1805 Saka

for the current year, though it really is the completed or past year. Thus the completed year 157 must, in the case before us, have come to be mistaken by the writer of the inscription for the current year, and he thought 156 to be the past year and thus gave that instead of 157 Now 157 Gupta + 242 + 78 = 477 A D, which is *Mahavaisakha*, according to the tables

The eclipse mentioned in the Morvi plate occurred, according to my friend Keru Lakshman, on the 30th of Vaisakha, Saka 827 The Gupta year given in the plate is 585 If 827 is in the astronomical calculation the *current* year, it must correspond to 585 Gupta *past*, for 585 + 242 = 827 It is by no means necessary to suppose that the eclipse occurred on the new-moon day immediately previous to the 5th of Phalguna Sudi mentioned in the grant For it is perfectly possible that the actual religious ceremony with reference to the grant was made in Vaisakha and the deed executed in Phalguna

I have thus shown that Albiruni's initial date for the Gupta era stands all these tests It may even be said that it stands them better than 167 A D and 190 A D proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E Clive Bayley respectively But I am loath to decide such questions simply on astronomical grounds, for there are several very confusing elements involved, and a modern astronomer cannot know them all and make allowance for them

It now remains to notice the last point relied on by the opponents of Albiruni The date on a copper-plate grant by the last Siladitya of Valabhi hitherto known is 447 This Siladitya is also styled Dhrubhata in the grant and has been identified with the T-lu-va-po-tou or Dhruvabhata of Hwan Thsang who visited Vallabhi in 640 A D The date 447 is understood as referring to the Gupta era, and, 319 being added, it corresponds to 766 A D It has therefore been argued that an earlier initial date must be assigned to the Gupta era so as to bring this Siladitya or Dhrubhata nearer to the date of Hwan Thsang's visit But the identification of the last Siladitya with Hwan Thsang's Dhruvabhata cannot stand In the Si-yu-ki- the Chinese writer does not speak of *a king* but of *kings*, and says they were nephews of Siladitya of Malva and the younger of them named Dhruvabhata was son-in-law to the son of Harshavardhana If they were nephews of the king of Malva they were brothers and both of them kings Now, the predecessor of the last Siladitya of Valabhi was his father, and among the kings of Valabhi we do not find brothers reigning in succession at this period There were two brothers who occupied the throne before this period, one of them being

named Dharasena and the other Dhruvasena They were the sons of Kharagraha, and the younger of them was the father and predecessor of Dharasena IV. This younger brother or Dhruvasena must have been Hwan Thsang's Dhruvabhata. Nothing important is involved in the suffix *Bhata* It was a mere title or honorific termination as Pant and Rav are among us the Marathas Sena, Simha, and Bhata were the Valabhi honorific endings and they could be used promiscuously The king spoken of in the plates as Dhruvasimha may have been called Dhruvabhata by ordinary people, from whom Hwan Thsang must have got the name Now, a copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena bears the date 310 and the earliest date of his successor Dharasena IV is 326 The first corresponds to 629 A D (310 + 241 + 78 = 629), and the second to 645(326 + 241 + 78 = 645) It is quite possible, therefore, that Dhruvasena was on the throne in 640 A D at the time when Hwan Thsang visited Valabhi

The initial date mentioned by Albiruni is thus consistent with everything with which it has been thought to be not consistent I have shown that the statement of the Arabic writer is in itself entitled to our confidence, being based as it must have been on contemporary evidence as his statements about the Saka and Vikrama eras were I will now show that the date mentioned by him is alone consistent with the information we possess as regards the relations of the several dynasties that ruled over Gujarat and Kathiawad in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the dates proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E Clive Bayley are not We know that the Guptas succeeded the Satraps, and the Valabhis were at first dependents of the Guptas and afterwards attained independence Chandragupta II must have been the Gupta prince who overthrew the Satraps, since he is the first prince of that dynasty whose silver coins are a close imitation of those of the Satraps The latest date of that monarch is 93 This corresponds to 260 A D and 283 A D on the supposition that the Gupta era took its start in 167 A D, and 190 A D respectively Now, the latest date of the Satrap dynasty is 304 If the era to which it refers is the Saka, it corresponds to 382 A.D, that is, we shall have to suppose one of the princes of the dynasty to have reigned about a hundred years after the dynasty had been put an end to by Chandragupta II The Saka era will therefore not do. Supposing the Satrap dates refer to the Vikrama era, 304 corresponds to 248 A.D, which of course is consistent with Chandragupta's date 260 A D. or 283 A D. If then the Satrap dates refer to the era of Vikrama, Rudra-

daman's 72 must correspond to 16 A D. Rudradaman's grandfather Chashtana will have to be placed about B.C. 4. But Ptolemy, writing after 150 A D., tells us that Ujjayini was ruled over about the time when he wrote by Tiastenes, who has been very reasonably identified with Chashtana Ptolemy's information cannot certainly be 150 years old. It has, however, been argued that Ptolemy does not state that Tiastenes reigned about the time when he lived, and that he and Siro Polemios were contemporaries. For, he gives the information in the form of two short notes, "Ozone, the royal residence of Tiastenes," and "Baithana, the royal residence of Siro Polemios"

Such notes it is possible that one should write even if the princes reigned several hundred years before him, as a modern geographer *may* mention Berlin as "the capital of Frederick the Great," or Ghizni as "the capital of Mahmud " As to this I have to observe that the analogy does not hold good A modern geographer and his readers are very well acquainted with past history, while neither Ptolemy nor those for whom he wrote could have known the past history of India A modern geographer knows which of the princes that ruled over a certain country in past times was the ablest or most powerful and selects him out of a number and mentions his name in connection with a certain place It is extremely improbable or almost impossible that Ptolemy should have known many Indian princes who reigned before he lived, along with their achievements, and should have chosen the ablest of them for being mentioned And, as a matter of fact, we know that one at least of the rulers mentioned by him could be a person of no importance For Baleocuros who according to him held power in Hippocura was, as we have seen, but a Viceroy or dependent of Pulumayi and Gotamiputra Yajna Sri, since as Vilivayakura his name occurs along with those of the two princes on the Kolhapur coins Again, Ptolemy must have derived his information from merchants carrying on trade with India and these from the natives of the country And we know that natives of India care very little for past history and soon forget their kings Hence the information derived by the merchants cannot have reference to princes who reigned long before the time of Ptolemy It is possible that Indians may remember a celebrated prince for a century or two But, as stated above, one of the rulers mentioned by Ptolemy was but a dependent sovereign and could not have been a man of note The only other supposition that our opponents may resort to, is that Ptolemy's statements were based on those of previous geographers whose contemporaries the princes men-

tioned by him were No ground whatever has however been adduced in support of such a supposition In the Periplus which was written before Ptolemy, Paithana and Ozene are mentioned but Polemios and Tiastenes are not. On the contrary, the author of that work says that Ozene was "formerly the capital wherein the king resided" If Tiastenes lived before him and Ptolemy's mention of the former was due to his having been a prince of note like Frederick the Great and Mahmud of Ghizni in modern times, we should expect the author of the Periplus to have noticed him, especially when he does allude to the kings of Ozene. Tiastenes, Polemios, and Baleocuros must thus have reigned about the time of Ptolemy. The last two were, we know, contemporaries, and so also must the third have been

In this manner the Vikrama era will not do for the Satrap dates Besides, no trace whatever has hitherto been discovered of the use of that era in the early centuries of Christ Since, then, the use of no other era at the time has been well authenticated, the Satraps must be supposed to have employed the Saka era The circumstances of the country at that period render, as I have shown, the establishment of this era by the Sakas who ruled over the country in every way probable The latest Satrap date will thus correspond to 382 A D, and Chandragupta, the conqueror of the Satraps, can be rendered posterior to this only by taking 242 Saka or 320 A D as the initial date of the Gupta era, for his 93 *past* will then correspond to 412 A D And in this way Rudradaman's 72 will correspond to 150 A D., and Chashtana's date will be about 130 A D, *i e*, anterior to the date of Ptolemy's geography by about 25 years

Pandit Bhagvanlal has recently published a facsimile, transcript, and translation of a grant by Sryasraya Siladitya, son of Jayasimhavarman the founder of the Gujirat branch of the early Chalukya dynasty The date occurring in it is 421 The Pandit also mentions a grant by Vinayaditya Yuddhamalla, the brother of Sryasraya the date of which is Saka 653 What era the first date refers to is not stated, but it certainly cannot be the Saka or the Vikrama. It must therefore be the Gupta which was one of those in ordinary use in Gujarat and which the Valabhi princes themselves are said to have used. If so, neither 167 A.D nor 190 A D will do as the initial date of that era, for then 421 would correspond to 588 A D and 611 A D. respectively, while Yuddhamalla's date is 731 A D. The distance of time between the brothers would thus be 143 and 120 years which is impossible. The only initial date of the Gupta era, therefore, that will bring the brothers close together is

that given by Albiruni *viz.*, 242 Saka ; for Sryasraya's date thus becomes 662 Saka, while his brother's is 653 Saka Those who believe that the Valabhi princes themselves did not use the Valabhi era can have little ground to suppose that any other rival dynasty did it, and that Sryasraya's date refers to that era ; but if it does, the Balabhi era is, as I have already observed, the same as the Gupta era Pandit Bhagvanlal, however, in a paper recently published refers Sryasraya's date to an unknown era with 250 A D as its initial date But even thus the interval between the two brothers becomes sixty years, which unquestionably is too long For Sryasraya's 421 corresponds under the supposition to 671 A D and Vinayaditya's 653 Saka to 731 A D

The grounds adduced for the supposition of a new era appear to me to be very questionable Dadda II of the Gurjara dynasty, whose date is 380, is spoken of in a grant to have protected a prince of Valabhi who had been hard pressed by Harshadeva This Harshadeva is supposed by the Pandit to be Harshavardhana of Kanoj, the contemporary of Hwan Thsang and Pulakesi II of the Dekkan But the Chinese traveller represents the king of Valabhi as the son-in-law of Harshavardhana's son and consequently a friend of the monarch rather than an enemy Even granting for a time that the Umeta and the Ilao grants of Dadda II, the dates of which are 400 and 417 Saka respectively, are forgeries, it is not, I think, too much to expect the forgers to be pretty accurate as regards the time when the prince in whose name they executed the forgeries lived The dates 380 and 385 therefore of the Khera grants of Dadda refer not unlikely, to the Saka era And Dadda may have lived to Saka 417 corresponding to 495 A D This brings us down to about the time of Harsha of Ujjayini who may have been the monarch from whom Dadda protected the Valabhi prince The second ground on which the supposition of the existence of a new era is based is that in the opening passage of another grant of Sryasraya, Vinayaditya Satyasraya Vallabha is praised This Vinayaditya the Pandit identifies with the sovereign of the Dekkan of that name But I should think it to be more natural to understand him as the brother of Sryasraya, the donor of the grant dated 653 Saka For this last is not called *Yuvaraja* while Sryasraya is, and from this it appears that the latter was his brother's associate in the administration and governed a province as his Viceroy It is on this account that the brother's name is mentioned at the beginning of the grant The title Satyasraya Vallabha was promiscuously applied to all

Chalukya rulers The date Saka 653 of Vinayaditya Yuddhamalla of Gujarat also does not harmonize with the supposition that his brother was the contemporary of Vinayaditya of the Dekkan. The two astronomical coincidences mentioned by Fleet in his note on the Pandit's paper in themselves prove nothing, unless it is shown that the coincidences do not occur when the dates 456 and 486 of the Navsari and Kavi grants are understood as referring to any one of the well known eras. Besides, if this new era was in such extensive use in Gujarat, surely we must meet with some allusion to it in some Gujarat inscription or literary work from the earliest times to those of Albiruni As the question however has no direct bearing on the point under discussion in this note, I need not go into it further.

Thus, then, the evidence in favour of Albiruni's initial date for the Gupta era appears to me to be simply overwhelming

APPENDIX B

Note on the Saka dates and the years of the Barhaspatya cycle, occurring in the Inscriptions

There are certain difficulties with reference to the Saka dates and the cyclic years or *Samvatsaras* occurring in the inscriptions which require to be cleared up The current Saka year (A D 1883-84) in the Bombay Presidency is 1805, and the year of the sixty years' cycle, *Subhanu* In the southern provinces and the Madras Presidency the current Saka year is 1806, the cyclic year being the same The first question then is, "Do the dates in the inscription conform to the Bombay reckoning or the Madras reckoning ?" and the next, "What is the cause of this difference of a year ?" We have also to consider whether the Saka dates in the inscriptions represent the number of years *that have expired* before the event recorded in them or the *current* year in which the event took place

Robert Sewell gives in the first column of the Chronological Tables compiled by him the number of the Saka years that have expired before the beginning of the cyclic year set against it in the same line in the third column The current Saka year corresponding to that cyclic year is the one given in the next line in the first column Thus against Saka 855, the date of the Sangali grant of Govind IV of the Rashtrakuta dynasty, we have in the third column the cyclic year *Vijaya* which shows that 855 years of the Saka era *had expired* before the *Vijaya* year began, while the *current* Saka year corresponding to *Vijaya* was that given in the next line, *viz* 856. Sewell follows the Madras reckoning If we interpret the tables according to the Bombay mode, the Saka year appearing in the first column will be the current year, corresponding to the cyclic year in the same line in the third column, while the number in the line immediately above will represent the years that have expired before the beginning of that cyclic year Thus against 1805, the current Saka year on this side of the country, we have in the third column the current cyclic year *Subhanu,* while 1804 in the line above shows the number of years that have expired. By comparing the Saka dates and cyclic years occuring in the inscriptions with those in the tables we shall be able to determine the points raised before

In the analysis of Pali, Sanskrit, and old Kanarese inscriptions published by Fleet and Burgess there are 97 cases in which the Saka date as well as the cyclic year are distinctly given. On

comparing these with the Tables I observe that in 58 out of these the given Saka date occurs in the same line with the cyclic year mentioned in the inscription These are ·

Nos 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 35, 36, 37, 38, 52, 70, 87, 88, 90, 92, 98, 101, 102, 109, 114, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 134, 136, 141, 148, 149, 150, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 183, 189, 201, 214, 215, 219, 229, 230 (first part), 240, 241, 243, 283, 286

Thus in inscription No 20, the date given is 1200, and the cyclic year the *Bahudhanya,* both of which occur in the same line set against each other in the tables

In 28 cases the Saka date given in the inscription occurs in the tables in the line below that in which the given cyclic year occurs These are

Nos 19, 22, 26, 33, 34, 47, 72, 89, 91, 95, 96 (first part), 96 (second part), 100, 110, 111, 112, 118 (first part), 118 (second part), 146, 151, 194, 227, 230 (second part), 231, 234, 236, 237, 281

In No 19, for instance, the Saka date is 1184 and the cyclic year *Durmati* In the tables, *Durmati* occurs in the upper line set against 1183, and 1184 is in the line below, and *Dundubhi* is the year marked against it

Now on the supposition that the inscriptions conform to the Madras reckoning, in the first 58 cases the Saka date represents the number of Saka years that *had expired* before the current cyclic year of the inscription, and in 28 it shows the *current* year of that era If we suppose the Bombay reckoning to have been in use, the dates in the first 58 cases will represent the current year and those in the next 28, the *future* year and not the *past* But since it is almost absurd to suppose that the immediately next year should be stated in the inscriptions, it follows that the Madras mode of reckoning was the one in use. The objection, however, may be obviated by supposing that these 28 cases conform to the Madras reckoning and give the current year, while the first 58 follow the Bombay mode. But this supposition is not reasonable or probable, since these groups are not confined to particular provinces, and often one of the former exists in the same district or even place with one of the latter. We thus see that though in the majority of cases the inscriptions give the *past* Saka year, there is a large number in which the *current* year is given and not the *past.*

I have also compared other dates with the tables, and the result I give below ·

	Saka-date.	Cyclic year.	What the Saka date represents.
Kanarese grant of Govinda III. Kashtrakuta	726	Subhanu	Current year.
Radhanpur grant of do	730	Sarvajit	Do.
Krishna II or Akalavarsha, completion of tho Jaina Purana	820	Pingala	Do.
Do., in a Jaina temple by Chikarya	824	Dundubhi	Years elapsed
Govinn IV., Sangali grant	855	Vijaya	Do
Kakkala, Karha grant	894	Angiras	Do.
Tailaya's accession .	895	Srimukha	Do.
Satyasraya, Kharepatan plates of Ratta	930	Kilaka	Do.
Jayasimha Jagadekamalla Miraj, grant	946	Raktakshi	Do.
Marasimha Silahara of Kolhapur grant . ..	980	Vilambin	Do.
Gandaraditya do., Kolhapur, Ins No 1	1032	Vikriti	Do.
Do. do. grant translated by Pandit Bhagvanlal	1032	Virodhin	Current year
Do. Kolhapur Ins No 2	1040	Vilambin	Years elapsed.
Vijayarka do. do. No, 4	1065	Dundubhi	Current year.
Somesvara III Bhulokamalla, Abhilashita Chintamani	1051	Saumya	Years elapsed.
Bhojadeva II., Kolhapur Ins No 6	1101	Vilambin	Current year.
Do do , No 8	1112	Sadharana	Years elapsed.
Do. Dr Taylor's grant.	1113	Virodhin	Do
Do. Kolhayur Ins No 8,	1114	Paridhavin	Do.
Singhana Yadava, Khedrapur Ins.	1136	Srimukha	Current year.
Kamvadeva Chalukya	1182	Raudra	Years elapsed.
Mahadeva Yadava, Pandharpur Ins	1192	Pramoda	Do.
Ramachandra Yadava, Thana	1194	Angiras	Do
Do. do do	1212	Virodhin	Current year.

Out of these 24 dates, eight give the current year and the rest the years that had expired, the proportion being the same as in the other case, *viz*, 1 to 2 In all cases in which the cyclic year is given it is possible to determine whether the date represents the current or past year, but not in others The inscriptions of the early Chalukyas do not give it, and hence the exact date remains doubtful.

Now the Bombay mode of reckoning, which is one year behind that prevalent in Madras, is, I believe, due to a mistake We have seen it was more usual in recording a date to mark the years that had expired than the current year A word expressive of that sense such as *gateshu*, "having elapsed," was used after the number, and another such as *pravartamane*, "being current," was used in connection with the name of the

cyclic year. These words were, for brevity's sake, afterwards dropped, and in the course of time, the sense, to express which they were used, was also forgotten and the number came to be regarded as denoting the current year There are a few dates in the inscriptions which indicate such a mistake as this. Thus in No. 86 of the Pali, Sanskrit, and old Kanarese inscriptions, Saka 911 is given along with the cyclic year Vikriti. Now, according to the tables, the number of years that had expired before Vikriti was 912 and the current year was 913 This discrepancy is to be explained by the supposition that Saka 912 which represented the years that had expired came to be thought of as the current year, just as we, on this side of the country, consider 1805 as the current year now, though it indicates the past year, and the writer of the inscription wishing to give the years that had expired before his current year, put them as 911 The same is the case with Nos. 27, 67, 115, 130, 224, and 284, the Saka dates in which are 1444, 1084, 1430, 1453, 1114, and 1128, respectively, and are two years behind the current year as determined by the cyclic years given along with them In some cases the Saka dates are in advance of the *Samvatsara* or cyclic year by one year Thus in the Vani-Dindori grant of Govinda III the Saka date is 730 and the Samvatsara *Vyaya*, and in the Kanheri inscription of Amoghavarsha we have Saka 775 and the *Prajapati* Samvatsara Now the Saka years immediately preceding Vyaya and Prajapati were 728 and 773, while the current years were 729 and 774 respectively The dates in these inscriptions may may be explained on the supposition that 730 and 775 were the current Saka years, while instead of the current cyclic years *Sarvajit* and *Angiras*, the *past* Samvatsaras Vyaya and Prajapati were given as the *past* Saka years were given in so many cases, in other words the usual process was inverted in these two cases

The date in No 79 of the Pali, Sanskrit, and old Kanarese inscriptions is three years behind the current Samvatsara, and that in No 228, four years, No 221 has 1113 for 1121; and No 246, 1492 for 1485 These must be considered to be positive mistakes

The Saka dates given in the preceding pages represent in *most* cases the years that had expired before the particular occurrences mentioned Thus "in 855" means *after 855 years of the Saka era had expired*

APPENDIX C

Introduction of Hemadri's Vratakhanda

In the critical notes D represents the Ms. in the Dekkan College Library, No 234 of A. 1881-82; S the Ms. belonging to the old Sanskrit College, No 657, Kh. the Ms belonging to Khasgivale, and G the Ms procured by Gangadhar Sastri Datar. See Section XIV, p 75, note 2.

* श्रीगोपालमपारवैभवभवस्वच्छन्दलीलामयं

सान्द्रस्निग्धतमालकोमलदलश्यामाभिरामाकृतिम् ।

कूजत्कोकिलकामिनीकलरवप्रोल्लासिगोपाङ्गना-

गीतस्फीतपवित्रचित्रचरितव्रातं नमस्कुर्महे ॥ १ ॥

उन्मीलत्कमनीयकान्तिसरसीमध्ये विबुद्धप्रभं

सारासारविचारचारुमनसा हंसेन संसेवितम् ।

नित्यानन्दपरागसङ्गसुभगं वन्दारुवृन्दारक-

श्रेणीभ[1]ङ्गमनङ्गवैरिचरणाम्भोजद्वयं पातु व[2]ः ॥ २ ॥

* These two stanzas exist only in a mutilated form in S, but they occur fully in D and Kh which contain the shorter Prasasti In G which contains both the Prasastis mixed together, they occur at the head of the shorter one, so that they appear to belong to the latter rather than to the other.

१ सङ्ग for भङ्ग D. Kh २ नः for वः D. Kh.

Rajaprasasti I

[1]जीयान्नूतनभूतसर्गसमयाविर्भावसंभावना-

तु[2]ष्यत्तल्पभुजङ्गपुङ्गवशिरःश्रेणीशतैर्वन्दितः ।

कल्पान्तोपरमेषु नाभिकमले प्रोद्दामसामस्वर-

स्वैरोच्चारणचारणायितविधिव्याधूतनिद्रो हरिः ॥ १ ॥

अस्ति प्रशस्तं पुरुषोत्तमस्य शय्यागृहं क्षीरमयः पयोधिः ।

यदीयपीयूषरसायनेन स्वर्लोकभाजामजरामरत्वम् ॥ २ ॥

संतानचिन्तामणिकामधेनुकल्पद्रुमश्रीजननैकहेतोः ।

सिन्धोरमुष्मादुदभूदमन्दनिस्यन्दमाना[3]मृतबिन्दुरिन्दुः ॥ ३ ॥

१. जायान्नू० S. जीवन्नू० G. २. तल्प० S. सल्प. G. ३. ०मानो G. मानी

तलस्तनूजं विबुधप्रधानं[१] बुध सुधादीधितिरप्यसूत ।
बभूव तस्मादथ चक्रवर्ती पुरूरवाः पुण्यपथानुवर्ती[२] ॥ ४ ॥
अभजत जनि[३]मस्मादायुरायुः प्रजानां
नहुषपदनिदानं ज्योतिरासीत्ततोपि ।
नृपतिरथ ययातिः ख्यातिमानप्यमुष्माद-
यमपि यदुमूर्ति[४] कीर्तिमाविश्चकार ॥ ५ ॥
यदोरदोषविशदैर्यशोभिरभिशोभितः
अन्ववायः स एवायमवाप यदुवंशताम् ॥ ६ ॥
ततः क्रोष्टा तस्मादजनि वृजिनीवानपि नृप-
स्ततो जज्ञे राज्ञः क्षितिपतिरिह स्वाहित[५] इति ।
नृशङ्कुस्तत्पुत्रः समभवदथो चित्ररथ इ-
त्यतो जातः ख्यातः स किल शशबिन्दुर्नरपतिः ॥ ७ ॥
ततः पृथुश्रवा वीरस्तदनन्तरमन्तरः ।
ततः सुयज्ञः उशनाः सितेयुरिति च क्रमात् ॥ ८ ॥
सुनुस्तस्य मरुत्त इत्यनुपमः प्रोद्दामदोर्विक्रम-
स्तस्मात्कम्बलबर्हिरुज्ज्वलयशाः प्रक्षालितक्ष्मातलः ।
एतस्मादुदियाय रुक्मकवचस्तस्मात्पराजिन्नृप-
स्तस्माद्भूरितुरंगमेधिसुकृती राजाजनि ज्यामघः ॥ ९ ॥
ततो विदर्भः क्रथकुन्तिवृष्णिनिवृत्तिसंज्ञाः परतो दशार्हः ।
व्योमा[६] च जीमूत ईति क्रमेण जाता नरेन्द्रा विकृतिश्च वीरः ॥ १० ॥
तदनु भीमरथः पृथिवीपतिर्नवरथश्च ततो रथिनां वरः ।
दशरथः शकुनिश्च करम्भिरित्युपविशन्ति पुराणपरायणाः ॥ ११ ॥
देवराजस्ततः श्रीमान्देवक्षेत्रस्ततो मधुः ।
ततः कुरुवशो राजा[७] पुरुहोत्रः क्रमादभूत् ॥ १२ ॥

S. १. प्रतापं for प्रधानं G. २ रथा॰ for पथा॰ S ३. जन S. जासे G. for जनि. ४. मूर्तिः S. मूर्ति G. ५ स्याहित S. स्ताहित G. ६ व्योमाश्च S. व्योमाव G. ७ नाम for राजा G

अथायुरासीदथ सात्वतोभूदथान्धकोस्माद्भजमानसंज्ञः[1] ।
विदूरथस्तत्परतोपिशूरराशिः[2] प्रतिक्षत्र इति क्षितीशः ॥ १३ ॥
बभूवाथ स्वयंभोजस्ततोपि हृदिकोभवत् ।
असूत सोपि धर्मात्मा राजान देवमीढुषम् ॥ १४ ॥
निस्त्रिंशनिःशेषितवैरिपूरस्तः क्षिति पालयति स्म शूरः ।
ततोपि राजा वसुदेवनामा यो विश्वहेतोरपि हेतुरासीत् ॥ १५ ॥
वृन्दारवृन्दारकवृन्दमौलिमन्दारमालासुरभीकृताङ्घ्रिः ।
आसीदमुष्मादसुरवातारभारापहाराय पुरा मुरारिः[3] ॥ १६ ॥
बभूव प्रद्युम्नः किल कुसुमधन्वा मधुरिपोः
त्रिलोकीवीरोसौ तनयमनिरुद्धं प्रसुषुवे ।
ततो भूभृत्पक्षक्षपणनिपुणेनैव महसा
परिस्फूर्जन्वज्रः[4] शतमखसस्व. प्रादुरभवत् ॥ १७ ॥
वज्रस्य सूनुः प्रतिबाहुरासीद्दासीकृतक्ष्मापतिचक्रवालः ।
ततोपि सम्राडमवमवत्सुबाहुः[5] प्रासूत सोयं चतुरस्तनूजान् ॥ १८ ॥
तेन ते सार्वभौमेन[6] तनया विनयान्विताः ।
विभज्य वसुधाचक्रं चक्रिरे पृथिवीश्वराः ॥ १९ ॥
यथाविभागं वसुधामशेषां तेषां तदा पालयतां चतुर्णां ।
दृढप्रहारी दिशि दक्षिणस्यां प्रभुर्बभूव प्रथमान्(तका?) कनीयान् ॥ २० ॥
सर्वेपि पूर्वं मथुराधिनाथाः कृष्णादितो द्वारवतीश्वरास्ते ।
सबाहुसूनोरनु दक्षिणाशाप्रशासिनो यादववंशवीराः ॥ २१ ॥
तत सः राजा निजराजधानीमधिष्ठितः श्रीनगरं गरीयः ।
लेभे सुतं सेउणचन्द्रसंज्ञं यत्संज्ञया सेउणदेशमाहुः ॥ २२ ॥

१ ०न्धकस्मा० G S २ So both Mss. But there must be a mistake The name of Sura's son शोणि is disguised as राशि. Perhaps the reading is शूरशोणी. ४ पुरा सुरारिः S

५. परीस्फूर्ज्जद्वन्यः S , G. is totally incorrect and there is a lacuna

६. The Puranic genealogy ends here. Subahu, however,

अथ धाड्डियसो महीपतिस्तनयस्तस्य बभूव भिल्लमः ।

अजनिष्ट ततोपि राजगिस्तदनु प्रादुरभूदस वादुगिः[1] ॥ २३ ॥

जहाँ[2] धाडियमस्ततः प्रतिभटक्ष्मापालकालानलः

तस्मादाविरभूत्प्रभूतविभवो भर्ता भुवो भिल्लमः ।

एतस्मान्महसां महानिधिरसौ श्रीवेसुगिर्जज्ञिवान्

हन्ता भीष्मभुजिज्ञसामसहृदां[3] तस्मादभूदर्जुनः ॥ २४ ॥

अजस्रमाविष्कृतदानवारिः प्रभूतहस्तार्चितदानवारिः ।

ततः स राजा विरराज राजश्रियो विलासैर्जितराजराजः ॥ २५ ॥

आसीद्विलासी नृपतेरमुष्मात्स भिल्लमः पल्लवितोरुकीर्तिः ।

स वादुगिः स्वादुगिरां कवीनां स्तोत्रैकपात्रं[4] भवति स्म तस्मात् ॥ २६ ॥

ततो महीं महीपालः पालयामास[5] वेसुगिः ।

संहृतप्रोद्यदुद्दामधामसामन्तसंततिः ॥ २७ ॥

ततोपि नृपभिल्लमः समरसोमभीमक्रिया-

निरर्गलभुजार्गलायुगलकालकेलीलालयः ।

ततः समदमेदिनीपतिपतङ्गभङ्गव्रतः

प्रतापशिखिलङ्घितत्रिजगदङ्गणः[6] सेउणः ॥ २८ ॥

समुद्धृतो येन महाभुजेन द्विषां विमर्दात्परमर्दिदेवः ।

आस्थापि चालुक्यकुलप्रदीपः कल्याणराज्येपि स एव येन ॥ २९ ॥

परम्मदेवः स ततो बभूव द्विषद्वधूनेत्रभ्रताम्बुवृष्टौ ।

परम्मदेनेव रुचां चयेन यस्य प्रतापेन चिर व्यराजि[7] ॥ ३० ॥

is there called Sucharu १. स बाहुगीः S सुबाहुदुणः G. २ This is the reading both of S and G. probably for धाडियस. But the name according to Pandit Bhagavanlal's grant was धाडियप्प, ३. This appears to be a mistake for भीष्मभुजौजसामसुहृदां. G. has ०मसुहृदाकस्मा० ४. पाव S. पावै G for पात्रं ५. The visarga is dropped in both Mss

६. Both Mss. have लंघितः श्रीजग०

७. Here S. ends and the following is based on G. only,

तस्मादनन्तरमनन्तभुजप्रतापः[1] क्षोणीपतिः समभवत्स हि सिंहिराजः ।

तस्यानुभुवचल्क्यं बलीयान्[2] अत्रायत त्रिजगतीविजयी स राजा ॥ ३१ ॥

[3] लञ्जीपुरात्समानीय कर्पूरतिलकं गजम् ।

स कर्पूरव्रतं[4] पूर्णमकरोत्परनन्दितः ॥ ३२ ॥

तस्मादप्रतिमल्लोभूत्[5] मल्लुगिर्वल्लभः[6] क्षितेः ।

उदजंभूतजम्भारिभूरिर्द्दामदंडेचंडिमाः[7] ॥ ३३ ॥

आसाद्य सद्यः स निवासहेतोः[8] श्रीपर्णखेटं नगरं रिपुभ्यः ।

अहारि[9] येनोत्कलभूमिपालादुत्तुङ्गमातङ्गघटा[10] हठेन ॥ ३४ ॥

तस्मादमरगाङ्गेयः संबभूव भुवः पतिः ।

अथाविन्दत गोविन्दराजः साम्राज्य पदम् ॥ ३५ ॥

ततो[11] मल्लुगिपुत्रोभूद्भूपालोमरमल्लगिः

अथ कालीयबल्लालः पालयामास मेदिनीं[12] ॥ ३६ ॥

which, as I have already observed, is an extremely incorrect manuscript

१ ०प्रतापं Ms. २ Three syllables have dropped out here चल्क्यं is evidently वल्क्यं. I read the line thus :—तस्यानुजस्तदनु भुवल्क्यं वलीयान् तस्य refers to the previous King Paramma whose brother Simha appears to be The copyist, after having written तस्यानु thought this नु to be the नु at the end of तदनु and so omitted जस्तद What I read as अत्रायत looks in the Ms like अशयत्, but there is little doubt अत्रायत is the word intended. ३. This may be त्रजीपुरात् ४. The Ms has व्रम for व्रतं. ५. The Ms omits ल्लो. ६. The Ms has मूल्लगि० ७ This line is bad. I read it thus —उदजृम्भत जम्भारिभूरिदोर्दण्डचण्डिमा ८. निवास is निवाह in the Ms. ९ in the Ms अहारि is अहोरि and उत्कल is उत्काल which violates the metre १० उत्तुङ्ग is उत्तंग in the Ms. ११. The Ms. has this line thus —ततो मल्लगीरः पुत्रोभूतभूपालोमरमलगिः. १२. मेदि is देदिनीं in the Ms.

महीपतेस्तस्य विहाय पुत्रान् गुणानुरक्ता यदुवंशलक्ष्मीः ।
१ २
श्रीमिल्लमं तस्य ततः पितृव्यमव्यात्रराजङ्कमाजगाम ॥ ३७ ॥
३ ४
यः श्रीवर्द्धनमाससाद नगरं क्षोणीपतेरंसला
५
यः प्रत्यंडकभूभृतं च समरे दुष्टं त्यज-क्षणात् ।
६
यो वा मङ्गलवेष्टकं क्षितिपतिं श्रीवज्रिणं जघ्निवान्
७
कल्याणश्रियमप्यवाप्य विदधे यो होल्सेयं वशे ॥ ३८ ॥
८ ९
स दण्डिकामण्डलमनयित्रीमपंकसंपत्प्रभवैर्विलासैः ।
१०
चक्रे पुरं देवगिरिं गिरीशप्रसादसंसादितदिव्यशक्तिः ॥ ३९ ॥
११
तदनु मदनमूर्तिः कार्तिकीचन्द्रसंद
१२
द्युतिविशदयशोभिः शोभिताशावकाशः ।
अभवदवनिपालो जैत्रपालः करालः
प्रहरणरणरङ्गत्तुङ्गदुत्तुङ्गखड्ग ॥ ४० ॥

१. भीश्रमं Ms. २ अव्यात्र is unintelligible. ३. For श्री we have स्री in the Ms and the र्द्ध is curiously written ४. What the exact name of the king was it is difficult to say; अंसला is ungrammatical, and may have been intended for अंसलात्. ५. What this word is cannot be said with any certainty. A form of the root त्यज् will not do; perhaps जिगाय was meant ६. As the very usual in Mss. the वे of this is written as if it were चे ७. होल्सेयं is very likely होयसेलं, *i e*, the Hoysala Yadava of Halebid. What I have put as वशे is in the Ms. वशु. ८. दण्डिका is written as दंडिका in the Ms. ९. What this word is, it is difficult to say. What is wanted is a word like अनन्त, अतर्क्य &c. Possibly, it is अकम्प. संपत् is written as संप and विलासैः as विलासे १०. In the Ms We have प्रसादमासादित. ११. Perhaps संद is meant for संघ १२ The Ms. has विकाशः for अवकाशः.

दीक्षित्वा रणरङ्गदेवयजने[1] प्रोद्दस्तशस्त्रस्त्रुवः[2]
श्रेणीभिर्जगतीन्हुतवता येन प्रतापानले ।
तैलिङ्गाधिपतेः[3] पशोर्विशसनं रौद्रस्य[4] राद्राकृतेः
कृत्वा पुरूषमेधयज्ञविधिना लब्धास्त्रिलोकीजयः ॥ ४१ ॥

तस्मादभूदभिनवस्मरचारुमूर्तिः
[5]— — — — — — पदं सिङ्घणदेवभूपः ।
उद्दण्डदोर्युगलगर्वितवैरिवर्ग-[6]
सीमन्तिनीवदनकैरवचण्डभानुः[7] ॥ ४२ ॥

येनानीयत मत्तवारणघटा यज्जल्लभूमिभृतः[8]
कक्कलादवनीपतेरपहृता येनाधिराज्यश्रियः ।
येन क्षोणीभृदर्जुनोपि बलिना नीतः कथाशेषतां
येनोद्दामभुजेन भोजनृपतिः काराकुटुम्बीकृतः ॥ ४३ ॥

यद्भङ्गारिगकेसरी विनिकृतो लक्ष्मीधरः क्ष्मापति
र्यद्द्वाहावलिभिः[9] प्रसह्य रुरुधे धाराधराधीश्वरः ।
बल्लालक्षितिपाललालितभुवां सर्वापहारक्षयः
श्रीसिंहस्य महीपतेर्विजयते यद्वाल्लीलायितम्[10] ॥ ४४ ॥

१ देवययल in the Ms The ल must be due to the copyist having mistaken न which was the old form of writing ने for that letter. २ स्त्रुवः is क्रुवः in the Ms

३ तैलिङ्ग is तङ्लिंग in the Ms

४ रौद्रस्य ought to be रुद्रस्य, unless the son of Rudradeva is meant ५ There is a lacuna here, but this stanza must be the same as the sixth in the smaller Prasasti, and therefore the second line should be कीर्तेः पदं जगति सिङ्घणदेवभूपः. ६ वर्ग is वैव in the Ms ७ This line is thus written in the Ms. :—सीमंतमिनीवन-केरवचंद्रभासान् । ८ In the Ms we have यज्जल, but it violates the metre. ९ यद्भाहावलिभिः in the Ms १० We should read तद् for

कृष्णो महादेव इति प्रतीतौ जातौ ततः सिंहनृपस्य पौत्रौ ।

तयोस्तु पूर्वप्रभवः पुरस्तात्[1]— — — — — — ॥ ४५ ॥

[2] यनाकालिविशात्वविलसच्चमूसंहारकालानले

हतोन्मूलितमूलराजसमरे निर्वीरमुर्वीतले ।

येनानेकमहाफलक्रतुकृता संवर्ध्यमानो निशं

क्षीणे कालवशात्पुनस्तरुणतां धर्मोपि संप्रापितः ॥ ४६ ॥

ततः कृष्णे राजन्यमरतरुणीचामरमरु

त्तरङ्गैरुत्तुङ्ग दिवि किमपि तेजः श्रितवति ।

परित्राता भूमेः समजनि जगज्जित्वरमहा[3]

महादेवः सेवारसिकसकलक्ष्माभृतमुतः[4] ॥ ४७ ॥

[5] तैलिङ्गक्षितिपालतूलनिचयप्रक्षेपचण्डानिलो

गर्जद्गूर्जरगर्वपर्वतभिदादम्भोलिदोर्विक्रमः ।

हेलोन्मूलितकौङ्कणक्षितिपतिः कर्णाटलाटोद्भव

क्षोणीपालविडम्बनः स हि महादेवः कथ वर्ण्यते ॥ ४८ ॥

यद् here. १ There is a lacuna here. २ In these two lines, अकालि ought to be अकारि, हतो०, हुत्वो०, and उर्वीनले, उर्वीतलं, and the and the general sense is clear , but it is difficult to restore the original thoroughly

३. This महा is omitted in the Ms , since it is followed by another महा and the copyist mistook the one for the other. The compound is to be dissolved as जगतो जित्वरं जगज्जित्वरम् । जगज्जित्वरं महो यस्य स जगज्जित्वरमहाः. ४. मुतः is of course a mistake ; but whether नुतः, श्रुतः or स्तुतः was the original word is doubtful. ५. This stanza is the same as stanza 13 of the second Prasasti ; and therefore, I have corrected the mistakes of the Ms. by comparing the two, keeping only such words as deserved to be

यो भोजदेवान्नृपतेः प्रतापी जग्राह याहं मदमन्दसत्त्वः[1] ।
सार्धं—[2] — यात्सहजीवितेन सोमेश्वरस्यापि[3] जहार राज्यम् ॥ ४९ ॥
यदीयगन्धद्विपगण्डपालीनिष्ठ्यूतदानाम्बुतरङ्गिणीषु ।
सोमः समुद्रप्लवपेशलोपि ममज्ज सैन्यैः सह कुङ्कुणेशः ॥ ५० ॥
सीमोल्लङ्घनमेव यस्य जगतां संहार इत्युच्यते
क्रुद्धे वज्रधरेपि यः क्षितिभृतं मैनाकमत्रायत[4] ।
स्मारं स्मारममुष्य दुःसहमहःसंदोह[5]दावानलं
तेनाम्भोनिधिनापि कुङ्कणपतिर्नारक्षि कुक्षिस्थितः[6] ॥ ५१ ॥
[7] बाहानामपि यस्य वैरिविषयेप्यातन्वतां धन्विनां
मातिङ्गिन्नृपाङ्गनाद्भुहितं बाह्यादिलीलाभवत् ।
यस्तस्यैव चरणे जहार करिणस्तत्पश्चशब्दादिकान्
यस्तन्याज्यवधूवधादुपरतस्तद्गुजुह्ममाम् ॥ ५२ ॥

Rajapiasasti II

वंशो हिमांशोर्जयति प्रसिद्धो यस्मिन्स राजा यदुराविरासीत् ।
बभूव यस्मिन्नसुरावतारभारापहाराय पुरा मुरारिः ॥ ३ ॥
वंशे तस्मिन्कंसविध्वंसनस्य क्षोणीपालो भिल्लमः प्रादुरासीत् ।
निन्ये नाश वैरिभूभृत्पतङ्गान्यस्यानेकद्वीपदीपः प्रतापः ॥ ४ ॥

considered as different readings १ मदमन्दसत्त्वः as an epithet of Mahadeva involves censure instead of praise. The correct form of the word is probably, मदमन्दसत्त्वात्, in which case it would be an epithet of Bhojadeva.

२. Two letters are wanting here. Perhaps the word meant is समृद्धया. ३ सोमेश्वर is written as सौम्येश्वर in the Ms. ४ मैनाकमित्रायत Ms ५. •मदः संदोह. Ms ६ कुंकणपतिनरीक्षिकुक्षि• Ms. ७. There are so many bad mistakes in this that an endeavour at restoration must be fruitless.

नम्रीभवत्सकलराजसमाजमौलीमाणिक्यदीधितिविबोधितपादपद्मः ।

उद्दामदर्परिपुसर्पविहङ्गराजः श्रीभिल्लमादवनिपोजनि जैत्रपालः ॥ ५ ॥

तस्मादभूदभिनवस्मरचारुमूर्तिः कीर्तेः पदं जगति सिङ्घणदेवभूपः ।

उद्दण्डदोर्युगुल[1]गर्वितवैरिवर्गसीमन्तिनीवदनकैरवचण्डभानुः[2] ॥ ६ ॥

अथ सकलकलानामालयः पालनाय क्षितितलमवतीर्णः पौर्णमासीशशीव ।

अभवदवनिपालो जैतुगिर्नाम तस्मात्समसमरधीरद्वेषिभूपालकालः ॥ ७ ॥

स भूमिपालो जनयांबभूव कृष्णं महादेवमहीपतिं च ।

हिताय लोकस्य यथा पयोधिश्चिन्तामणिं कौस्तुभमप्युदारम् ॥ ८ ॥

जन्मान्तरोत्थं परिवर्तयन्तौ ज्येष्ठावरत्वं किल कौतुकेन ।

कृतावतारौ यदुराजवंशे प्रीत्या पुनस्ताविव रामकृष्णौ ॥ ८ ॥

धर्मार्थाविव तौ साक्षात्पालयन्तौ वसुंधराम् ।

विलोक्य लोकः सस्मार राजानौ रामलक्ष्मणौ ॥ १० ॥

दृप्यद्दारुणवाजिवारणरणक्षोणीषु जित्वा बहून्

दासीकृत्य तथापरान्विहितवानन्यानरण्यौकसः ।

इत्थं पार्थिवराजराजिविजयव्यापारपारंगत-

श्चक्रे शक्रजयाय कृष्णनृपतिः स्वर्लोकयात्रा[3]गतम् ॥ ११ ॥

अथ प्रभावातिशयेन लब्ध विभज्य लोकद्वितयाधिपत्यम् ।

त्रिविष्टप शासति कृष्णभूपे भुवं महादेवनृपः प्रशास्ति ॥ १२ ॥

तैलङ्ग[4]क्षितिपालतूलनिचयप्रक्षेप[5]झञ्झानिलो[6]

गर्जद्गूर्जरगर्वपर्वतभिदादम्भोलिदोर्विक्रमः ।

हेलोन्मूलितकौङ्कणक्षितिपतिः कर्णाटलाटोद्भट-[7]

क्षोणीपालविडम्बनः स हि महादेवः कथं वर्ण्यते ॥ १३ ॥

१ युगल Kh. २ चन्द्रभानुः D & Kh. चण्डभातः G ३ यात्रां गतः Kh. ४ तलिंग Kh. & G. ५ प्रोत्क्षेप Kh. क्षोक्षेप G. ६ चंडानिलो Kh & G. ७ ० लाटोद्भवक्षोणी० Kh. ०लाटोद्भवः क्षोणी G.

अयं शिशुस्त्रीशरणागतानां हन्ता महादेवनृपो न जातु ।
इत्थं विनिश्चित्य[1] तनोतिमीतैरन्ध्रैः पुरन्ध्री निहिता नृपत्वे ॥ १४ ॥

अत एव हि मालवेश्वरः[2] शिशुमेव स्वपदे न्यवेशयत् ।
स्वयमाशु विहाय संपदः कपटेनैव चिरं तपस्यति[3] ॥ १५ ॥

विषमसमरकर्तुः शत्रवो यस्य पाणौ[4]
प्रलयदहनधूमश्यामधामातिभीमम् ।
पृथुतरकरवालव्यालमालोकयन्तो
भव शरणमितीमं मन्त्रमुच्चारयन्ति ॥ १६ ॥

यदीयगन्धद्विपगण्डपालीनिष्ठ्यूतदानाम्बुतरङ्गिणीषु ।
सोमः समुद्रप्लवपेशलोपि ममज्ज सैन्यैः[5] सह कुङ्कुणेशः ॥ १७ ॥

एतत्प्रतापो बहिरम्बुराशेरौर्वोन्तरेप्यस्ति[6] कुतः प्रयामि ।
चिरं विमृश्येति यदीयवैरी सोमेश्वरो वाडवमेव यातः ॥ १८ ॥

आस्ते मण्डितदण्डकापरिसरः श्रीसेउणाख्यः[7] परं
देशः पेशलवेशभूषणवचोमाधुर्यधुर्याकृतिः ।
तस्मिन्देवगिरिः पुरी विजयते त्रैलोक्यसरश्रियां
विश्रान्तिः सुरशालिशैलशिखरस्पर्धिष्णु[8]सौधावलिः ॥ १९ ॥

जगत्त्रयीगीतगुणप्रशस्तिः शास्ता समस्तावनिमण्डलस्य ।
श्रीमानिमामन्वयराजधानीं सोय महादेवनृपो बिभर्ति ॥ २० ॥

१ इत्थं विनिश्चिन्नयतो विमीतैराण्ध्रैः Kh विनिश्चिन्त्य D
२ हिमाचलेश्वरं G ३ न पश्यति for तपस्यति G. ४ पाणेः Kh. ५ सौम्यैः G ६ ०रोशेरण्नः पुरौप्यस्ति कुतः प्रयांमि D प्रयांसि Kh. ७ शेवलाख्यः D सेवणाख्यः Kh The middle letter of the name in G. looks somewhat like ठ but there is little question that the copyist had उ before him and made it appear like ठ by producing the nether curve and making its end touch the knot of उ. ८ स्पर्धालु D.

कुर्वन्विभूतिविस्तारैरिलावृत्तसमश्रियम् ।
अधितिष्ठति हेमाद्रिरिमां विबुधबान्धवः ॥ २१ ॥
सा संपत्तदिदं यशो बलमिदं सोयं प्रतापो महा-
नेकैकं पृथिवीभृतो भुवि महादेवस्य लोकोत्तरम् ।
यस्य श्रीकरणाधिपः स्वयमयं हेमाद्रिसूरिः पुरः
प्रौढप्रातिभवर्ण्यमानविलसद्वंशो भृशं शोभते ॥ २२ ॥

इतिराजप्रशस्तिः ॥

SUPPLEMENT

SECTION XI

THE RASHTRAKUTAS

GOVINDA II

At the end of a Purana entitled Harivamsa of the Digambara Jainas, it is stated that the work was composed by Jinasena in the Saka year 705 while Vallabha the son of Krishna was ruling over the south Govinda II is in the Kavi grant called Vallabha, while one of the names of Dhruva the second son of Krishna I was Kalivallabha Govinda II., therefore, must be the prince alluded to, and he appears thus to have been on the throne in the Saka year 705, or A D 783

The north was ruled over at the same time by a prince of the name of Indrayudha, the east by the king of Avanti, and the west by the sovereign of the Vatsas The last prince must have been the same as that whom Dhruva Nirupama is represented to have defeated The ruler of the country of the Sauryas (Sauras) was Varaha who is spoken of as a victorious warrior [1]

JAGATTUNGA

The Karda grant has been re-examined by Fleet and a new transcript and translation along with a facsimile have been published by him [2] From the latter I see that Jagadrudra, as a name of Govind III and of his great grandson, is a misreading, and that the correct name was Jagattunga as given in the other plates

AMOGHAVARSHA

An inscription at Sirur in the Dharvad district published by Fleet is dated Saka 787, *Vyaya*, which is represented as the fifty-second year of the reign of Amoghavarsha I [3] According to a Kanheri inscription that prince was, as we have seen, on the throne in 799 Saka This year must then have been the sixty-fourth of his reign It is very improbable that a prince should

[1] शाकेष्वब्दशतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पञ्चोत्तरेषूत्तरां
पातीन्द्रायुधनाम्नि कृष्णनृपजे श्रीवल्लभे दक्षिणाम् ।
पूर्वां श्रीमदवन्तिभूभृति नृपे वत्सादि (धि) राजेऽपरां
सोर्या(रा)णामाधिमण्डले (डं) जययुते वीरे वराहेऽवति ॥

Rajendralal's Skt Mss, Vol VI, p 80 There is a copy of this Purana in the Government collections deposited in the library of the Dekkan College but it has been sent to Germany

[2] Ind Ant Vol XII, p 263 *et seq*

[3] *Ibid*, p 216

reign for such a long period, and I think there must be some mistake somewhere The cyclic year *Vyaya* corresponds to the Saka year 788 *past* and 789 *current*.

Prabhutavarsha and Nityavarsha

Fleet has published an inscription dated Saka 840, *Pramathin*, in which year Prabhutavarsha was the reigning prince.[4] This prince he identifies with Jagattunga II The very next inscription given by him is dated Saka 838, *Dhatu*, when Nityavarsha was on the throne [5] Now Nityavarsha was a name of Indra III who was the son of Jagattunga II, since in the Sangali grant Indra's son Govinda IV is represented as meditating on the feet of Nityavarsha, and Fleet himself takes that to be another name of Indra III, though he calls him Indra IV The father's date is thus Saka 840 and the son's 838, which is impossible I therefore think that the Prabhutavarsha meant was Govinda IV. That was his name, though he was called Suvarnavarsha by people For, it is stated in the Sangali grant, that "though he was Prabhutavarsha, he was called Suvarnavarsha ('one who rains down gold') by people, because raining down gold in streams (by his gifts), he made the whole earth solely, golden".[6] Fleet's statement that Jagattunga II was called Prabhutavarsha is based upon a mere inference, while in this passage we are distinctly told that that was one of the names of Govinda IV. The latest date of Akalavarsha of Krishna II is 833 Saka. Supposing him to have died in that year and Govinda IV to have begun to reign in Saka 840 which, by the way, is a mistake for 841, the reigns of Jagattunga II, his son Indra III, and Amoghavarsha II the eldest son of Indra occupied only about seven years But since Jagattunga is not mentioned after Akalavarsha in the Kharepatan grant, but Indra, the grandson of Akalavarsha, I gather that Jagattunga did not ascend the throne at all, and Amoghavarsha II could have reigned but for a very short time, perhaps, a few months, as he was deposed by his brother Govinda IV

[4] Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 222
[5] *Ibid*, p. 224
[6] वर्षन्सुवर्णवर्षः प्रभूतवर्षोऽपि कनकधाराभिः ।
जगदखिलमेककाञ्चनमयमकरोदिति जनैरुक्तः ॥

Fleet's translation of this is "Raining down gifts, discharging showers of gold, and raining abundantly,—he is said by people to have caused the whole world to be made solely of gold by (*his*) showers of gold" (Ind. Ant, Vol XII, pp 250—253) The whole point of the stanza is lost in this translation which, of course, is wrong The word आपि has been altogether neglected

Fleet mentions another inscription of Govinda IV dated 851 Saka [7]

GOVINDAMBA

In the facsimile of the Karda grant published by Fleet, I find the stanza containing the name of Govindamba exactly as it is given by Wathen, except that we have Jagattunga instead of Jagadrudra, and therefore the mistakes I speak of in note 4, p 78-79, are not due to Wathen, but to the engraver or the composer of the grant That the Karda grant contains mistakes here of addition and omission is unquestionable Those who take the text as it is, make out that Jagattunga II married two sisters Lakshmi and Govindamba, the daughters of Samkaragana of Chedi If we so understand it, the result will be that the Karda grant makes no mention of Indra's wife Vijamba [8] and of his sons Amoghavarsha and Govinda IV, the latter of whom reigned, as we have seen, for at least fifteen years Such an omission is not likely Then, again, the Sangali grant makes no allusion whatever to Jagattunga's marriage with a lady of the name of Govindamba This name itself is, as I have observed, queer And the line in the Karda grant *Sriman Amoghavarsho Govindambabhudhanayam*, looks as if the intention of the writer of it was to set forth the names of the two sons of Indra, Amoghavarsha and Govinda, and of their mother Amba or Vijamba And it appears to me that the following stanza in which the liberality of a monarch has been praised refers to Govinda IV who, as noticed above, was called Suvarnavarsha by people, because he "rained down gold" The name of that prince, therefore, must occur in the verse immediately previous The line which precedes that beginning with *Sriman* must thus have crept in through mistake, and probably a verse or two are omitted here as also after the next stanza when Krishnaraja is abruptly introduced and spoken of parenthetically

THE LATER PRINCES

Krishna III was on the throne in Saka 873 according to an inscription [9] in the Dharvad District published by Fleet, and his younger brother Khotika was the reigning sovereign in Saka 893, *prajapati* according to another [10] Krishna's dates are thus 867, 873 and 878 Saka

[7] Ind Ant Vol XII p 249

[8] Fleet in his revised transcript and translation of the Sangali grant calls her Dvijamba, but in the facsimile given by him the name is distinctly Vijamba in both the places where it occurs The Sanskrit of Vijamba is Vidvamba Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 250

[9] Ind Ant, Vol XII p 257

[10] *Ibid*, p 255

Fleet adhers to Wathen's translation of the passage in note 2, p. 80, which makes out the Krishna there mentioned to be a son of Jagattunga II I need not discuss the grammar further than I have done He brings in, as before stated, another Krishna, whom he calls Krishna IV and identifies him with Nirupama the younger brother of Khotika and the father of Kakkala the last Rashtrakuta prince, and with the Krishna whose dates range from 867 to 878 Saka But if Khotika was his elder brother it is impossible that he should be reigning in 893 Saka, while Krishna should be on the throne from 867 to 878 Saka, that is, before his elder brother Krishna, therefore, was the elder of the two as stated in the Kharepatan grant and Khotika the younger Fleet, however, being under the belief that this last was the elder brother, gives the following explanation of the discrepancy in the dates. "Kottiga or Khottiga left no issue, and this explains why the date of his inscription now published is considerably later than the dates obtained for Krishna IV, *viz*, there being no probability of Kottiga leaving any issue, first his younger brother Krishna IV was joined with him in the government and then the latter's son Kakka III" [11] This supposition is not supported by any circumstance, on the contrary it is utterly discountenanced by the inscriptions of Krishna which represent him to be the "Supreme king of great kings," [12] and to have been reigning at the time at Manyakheta and governing the kingdom [13] Otherwise, they would have spoken of him as *Yuvaraja*

Khotika is called Khottiga in the Karda grant and not Khotviga

In addition to these several new inscriptions we owe another to Fleet It is dated Saka 896 current, *Srimukha*, when the reigning prince was Kakkala [14] This was the year in which the Rashtrakutas were overthrown by Tailapa

SECTION XIV, P 108

SEUNADESA

This name seems to be preserved in the modern Khandes In a foot-note on the opening page of the Khandes Volume, the Editor of the "Bombay Gazetteer" observes that the name of the country was older than Musalman times, and it was afterwards changed by them to suit the title of Khan given to the Faruki kings by Ahmed I of Gujarat Seunadesa, therefore,

[11] Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 255
[12] *Ibid*, Vol I, p 210
[13] *Ibid*, p 258
[14] *Ibid*, Vol XII, p. 270

was very likely the original name and it was changed to Khandes, which name soon came into general use on account of its close resemblance in sound to Seunadesa. The country however extended farther southwards than the present district of Khandes, since it included Devagiri or Daulatabad, and probably it did not include the portion north of the Tapi

SECTION XV, P 116

JAJJALLA AND KAKKULA

Jajjalla whose elephants Singhana is spoken of as having carried away must have been a prince belonging to the eastern branch of the Chedi dynasty that ruled over the province of Chhattisgarh, for that name occurs in the genealogy of that dynasty [16] The name Kakkula I would identify with Kokkala which was borne by some princes of the western branch of the family, the capital of which was Tripura or Tevur

[16] General Cunningham's Arch Reports, Vol XVII, pp 75, 76, & 79

NOTES

By Prof Tridibnath Ray, M A , B L

Sir R G. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan* first appeared in the *Bombay Gazetteer* Vol I part II and this edition is a verbatim reprint of that monumental contribution Since the publication of this first edition there have been two subsequent editions one in 1895 by the author himself and the other in 1928, after the death of the author by his son Dr D R Bhandarkar In the second edition (1895) the author made some additions and alterations in the text on the basis of the latest researches and new materials which were available at the time In the third edition (1928) Dr D R Bhandarkar only added some notes in the Appendix in which he dwelt upon the subsequent researches on the subject He however, made no alterations in the text

In order to supplement it and bring it up to date we give a brief summary of what new light has been thrown on the subject by subsequent researches In the second edition the author added an introductory chapter in which he discussed the sources of the ancient history of the Deccan which are as follows

"I —Bilhana's *Vikramankacharita,* Introduction to the *Vratakhanda,* Introduction to Jahlana s anthology, the Puranic genealogies , and scattered notices in the *Kathasaritsagara* Hala's *Saptasati,* Vatsyayana's *Kamasutra. Kavirahasya,* Digambara Jaina works such as the *Harivamsa,* the *Uttara Purana,* the *Yasastilaka,* the *Prasnottararatnamalika* &c , Vijnanesvara s *Mitakshara,* the *Abhilashitarthachintamani,* the *Sabdarnavachandrika,* the *Jnanesvari,* and a few others

II —Ptolemy's geography, the Periplus, Hiuen Thsang's Itinerary

III —Inscriptions in the cave temples of Western India , Rudradaman's inscription at Junagad , stone inscriptions in the Southern Maratha Country , copper-plate charters of the Early Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas, and other dynasties, of which we have now a large number

IV —Coins of the Satavahanas found at Kolhapur and in the lower Godavari district "

In the section I of the text no addition or alteration has been made by the author, but in the third edition Dr D R Bhandarkar recommends the reading of the article of P V Kane in J B B R A S , Vol xxiv pp 616 621 for further discussion on Dakshinapatha

As regards the second section Dr D R Bhandarkar's *Charmichael Lectures* on Aryan Colonisation is recommended in which he thus describes the route by which the Aryans penetrated the Southern India "The Aryan route seems to have lain through the Avanti country, the southernmost town of which was Mahissati or Mandhata on the Narmada, from where the Aryans crossed the Vindhyas and penetrated the southern India They began by colonising Vidarbha from which they proceeded southwards first to the Mulaka territory with its principal town Patitthana

or Paithan and from there to the Asmaka country" He then says that from the Asmaka territory the Aryans migrated to the Madura district, originally within Pandya dominion, through the modern Raichur and Chitaldrug districts He also states that the Aryans also followed a sea route by sailing down the Indus and reached Kuchchha and thence settled in Surashtra and Bharukachchha or modern Broach, Supparaka or Sopara in the Thana district of the Bombay Presidency

In the section III the author has dealt with the date of the Aryan settlement in the Deccan as well as the references about southern India in ancient literature and inscriptions After the publication of the *Bombay Gazeteer* three copies of Asoka's Fourteen Rock edicts have been discovered at Supara (a fragment only) in the Thana district of Bombay, at Mansera in the Hazara district of W Pakistan and at Yerragudi in the Karnool district of the Madras State A copy of the minor rock edicts was also discovered at Maski in Hyderabad State These inscriptions have helped to definitely demarcate the northern and southern limits of Asoka's empire As regards the identification of the Rashtikas, Bhojas and Petenikas of Aparanta, Dr Bhandarkar is of opinion that the Petenikas were divided into two groups Rashtika Petenikas and Bhoja Petenikas, the former he identified with the Maharathis of Western India cave inscriptions holding the Poona and the neighbouring districts of Maharashtra and the latter with the Mahabhojas holding the present Thana and Kolaba districts of the Bombay Presidency and their capital was Surparaka or Sopara where a fragment of the Fourteen Rock edicts has been found The author, of course, thought that *Aparanta* mentioned in the edicts were a seperate people occupying Northern Konkon

In the section IV while describing the extent of Asoka's dominions in the south the author in his second edition adds that "the countries of Rashtrikas, Bhojas, Petenikas and Aparantas were not outlying provinces like those of the Cholas, Pandyas and Ketalaputtas, they enjoyed a sort of semi-independence, and only owed allegiance to him as suzerain" This view has also been held by Dr Bhandarkar in his *Asoka*, but he translates the passage in R E V as 'they are engaged among the Yavanas, Kambojas and the Gandharas, and the hereditary Rashtrikas and others on the Western Coast (Aparanta)' (Rock Edict V)

The unique theory of the author and his son about the conjoint rule of Gotamiputra Satakarni and Vasishthiputra Pulumayi has been refuted by scholars like the late R D Banerjee (J R A S 1917, p 179 ff), Dr H C Raichaudhuri (*Political History of Ancient India*, 6th edn, pp 491-497), Dr G Jouveau Dubreuil (*Ancient History of the Deccan*, English edn, 1920, pp 38 39), Dr R C Majumdar, Dr D C Sarkar and others Dr Sarkar in challenging the arguments of Sir R G and D R Bhandarkar says that "none of the arguments, however, appears to be quite convincing The inscription of Gotamiputra's twenty fourth year apparently refers to the grant of the verandah only, while the record of the nineteenth year of Pulumavi speaks of the gift of the cave with or without the verandah As regards Balasri's representation as the mother of a king and the grandmother of a king, it is to be noted that

in the same context she is also called a *Mahadevi*, 'wife of a king' This shows that the lady claims to be one of the few that see not only their husband and son but also their grandchild on the throne As to the *prasasti* of Gotamiputra in an inscription of his son recording a gift of his mother, it is not unnatural for a mother in her old age to recount the glories of her dead son who was associated with her in a previous gift, not unconnected with the new gift, especially at a time when most of that son's conquests were lost again to the foreigner's "

Since the publication of the first edition of this book an inscription of the 13th year of a king Vasithiputa Chatarapana Satakarni was discovered by Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji The author thinks that he is Vasishthiputra Chatushparna, a successor of Gotamiputra Sri Yajna Satakarni But the modern scholars do not hold the same view Gopalachari suggests that Chatarapana may have been the Dravidian corruption of a name like Kshatrapanaka

About the legends on the coins found at Kolhapur and Sopara the author adds that the king Vasithiputa of the Kolhapur coins were Vasishthiputra Pulumayi, and the king Gotamiputra is Gotamiputra Yajna Satakarni, as he thinks that the father of Pulumayi did not rule on this side of the country and none of his inscriptions are dated in his reign though his exploits are described in the Nasik caves Madhariputa, the author thinks, came after Gotamiputra Yajna Satakarni and not after Vasithiputa Pulumayi as his viceroy Sevalakura is a different person A silver coin found in a copper casket in a stupa at Sopara bears a head of a king with a legend *Ranno Gotamiputasa Siri Yanna Satakanisa* The author thinks that he is the Gotamiputa of Kolhapur coins On the reverse of the silver coin there is a legend *Gotamiputa Kumaru Yanna Satakani-Chatarapanasa* which the author translates as "[this coin is] of Chaturanana Yanna Satakarni, prince of Gotamiputra " The author takes Chaturapana as a son of Yajna Satakarni and the viceroy of the province and the coin was issued in the names of two persons like Kolhapur coins In a mutilated inscription at Kanheri dedicating a water cistern by Sateraka, confidential counsellor of the Queen of Vasithiputa Satakarni, a daughter of a Mahakshatrapa of the Kardamaka family (whose name is obliterated), there was the name of the son of the Queen in the second line which is also obliterated The obliterated letters seem to read like *Sakaraja* or *Sakasena* This Vasishthiputra Satakarni, the author thinks, was very likely Chatushparna Satakarni As there is no trace of Chatushparna Satakarni in the Puranic lists, so the author identifies him with Chandasri Satakarni of the lists Modern scholars are of opinion that the name of the king whose name is obliterated is Mathariputra Sakasena What relation he had with Vasishthiputra Chatarapana Satakarni cannot be determined "The names of these rulers, who are not mentioned in the Puranas, have traces of their Scythian affinity."[1]

In Section VI while dealing with the Satavahana chronology the author has revised his views about the interpretation of the word संबंधाविदूरया in the Junagad inscription of Rudradaman He thinks

[1] *The Age of Imperial Unity* p 207

that the correct reading of the word will be संबंधाव्दूरतया and translates the passage as "(He) twice subdued Satakarni, the lord of Dakshinapatha, but still not destroyed him in consequence of *his connection with him not being remote and acquired a good name on that account*"

The author thinks that Satavahana king, whom Rudradaman drove away and regained his kingdom and coronated himself as Mahakshtrapa, is Yajna Sri Satakarni whose coins bear striking resemblance to the Kshatrapa coins He thinks that the wife of Chaturapana, son of Yajna Sri was the daughter of Mahakshatrapa who is spoken of as the wife of Vasishthiputra Satakarni in the Kanheri inscription He also thinks that the princes sprung from the matrimonial alliance with the Mahakshatrapas constituted a seperate branch cut off from the main line

However, the whole chronology has been revised by modern scholars and the interested reader may consult the most recent works *The Age of Imperial Unity* and *A Comprehensive History of India,* Vol 2, Oriental Longmans, Calcutta

In section VII the author added in his second edition the fact that there is a story in *Kathasaritsagara* which refers to the composition of the *Katantra* or *Kalapaka* grammar by Sarvavarman, a minister of king Satavahana, for teaching his master the principles of Sanskrit grammar within a short period of six months This grammar is an abridgment of Panini's grammar

In the section IX the author adds that the Strakutaka of the Kanheri Cave inscription of the 245th year of the dynasty may be a mislection for Rashtrakuta It may also be Traikutaka a copper plate of king Darhasena of which dynasty was published by Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji The author thinks that the Traikutaka dynasty was founded about the middle of the 3rd century after the extinction of the Satavahanas

The following additional facts have been gathered from the inscriptions discovered after the publication of the *Bombay Gazetteer* about the Early Chalukyas

(a) Mangalisa defeated and put to flight a prince of the Kalachuri dynasty named Buddha son of Sankaragana [a]

(b) Chalukyas were connected matrimonially with the Sendrakas, a family of minor chiefs Srivallabha Senanandaraja was the maternal uncle of Adityavarman a son of Pulakesi II [b] The Sendrakas seemed to be ruling in Gujarat when the Chalukya power was established there Sendraka was probably the older form of the Maratha name Sinde

(c) The branch of the Chalukya dynasty established in southern Gujarat started from Jayasimhavarman Dharasraya, a brother of Vikramaditya I He had three sons Sryasrava Siladitya, Vinayaditya Yuddha-

[a] Ind Ant vol vii p 161 and vol xix p 17
[b] Epigraphia Indica vol iii, p 51, J B B R A.S. vol xvi, p. 228

malla Jayasraya Mangalaraja, and Pulakesi Sryasraya was the prince regent[4] but died before his father Jayasraya succeeded his father and he was succeeded by Pulakesi The dates mentioned in the grants of these princes are in Traikutaka era. Pulakesi in his grant[5] states that he vanquished an army of the Tajikas (Arabs) which reached his capital Navasari after destroying several kings of the western coast of India and thereupon he got some titles from his overlord Vijayaditya or Vikramaditya II This Arab invasion must have taken place between 711 and 750 A D by Mahammad Kasim and his successors

(d) On comparing the dates of the grants of Vijayaditya the author concludes that he came to the throne after the full moon day of Ashadha in 615 saka corresponding to 696 A D

(e) Vikramaditya married two sisters of the Haihaya family and his successor Kirtivarman II is the son of one of them, Trailokyamahadevi

(f) Kirtivarman assisted his father in his wars against the Pallavas and once he defeated the Pallava king He ascended the throne in 669 Saka *i e*, 747 A D During his reign the Chalukyas were overthrown by the Rashtrakutas in Maharashtra The main branch of the dynasty became extinct

The discovery of some inscriptions especially Wardha and Karhad plates, have added much information since the publication of the first edition of this work At the beginning of the section XI of the 2nd edition the author adds a few remarks about the origin of the Rashtrakutas In the Wardha plates the Rashtrakutas are described as descendants of a prince Ratta of the Satyaki branch of the race of Yadu They are probably the main branch of the Kshatriyas named Ratthas who gave the country its name Maharashtra They were really the native rulers subjugated by foreigners like Satavahanas and Chalukyas but were never extirpated

The Wardha and Karhad plates speak about the construction of many Saiva temples by Krishnaraja From the Wardha plate we know that Govinda II was a debauch and the care of the kingdom was therefore left in the hands of his younger brother Dhruva Nirupama Govinda tried to regain power with the help of the neighbouring princes but Dhruva vanquished him

In Kavi and Paithan grants Govinda II is styled as Vallabha and Dhruva as Kalivallabha The date of the composition of Jaina *Harivamsa* is 705 Saka during the reign of Vallabha son of Krishna So Govinda II must be on the throne on that date This book also mentions that a Vatsa prince was ruling at that time in the west This prince must be the Vatsa raja who was vanquished by Dhruva

From the Navasari grant we know that Dhruva also defeated a king of Kosala The Paithan grant bears the date 716 Saka and was issued in the reign of Dhruva's son Govinda III So Dhruva must have died before that date. This charter does not mention any of the exploits of Govinda III, so his expeditions must have been after that date

[4] *Ibid* p. 2 & 3, Transactions VII Or Congr, p 226
[5] *Ibid* p. 230.

In the Navasari grant Amoghavarsha, son of Govinda III, is called Vallabha and styled as *Rajaraja* and Vira-Narayana He is said to have burnt the Chalukyas This alludes to his wars with the Chalukyas of Vengi.

From the Wardha plate we know that Govinda III's son Sarva or Amoghavarsha Nripatunga founded the city of Manyakheta, modern Malkhed By comparing the Sirur inscription published by Fleet and the Kanheri inscription we can ascertain that Amoghavarsha ascended the throne in Saka 737 *past* The Jaina saint Jinasena in his poem *Parsvabhyudaya* speaks of the long reign of Amoghavarsha A Digambara Jaina philosophical work *Jayadhavala* was composed in 759 Saka in the reign of Amoghvarsha The Digambara Jainas claim that Amoghavarsha composed a small moral treatise *Prasnottara Ratnamalika* after he abdicated the throne, which is attributed by the Hindus to Sankaracharya and the Svetambara Jainas to Vimala This book was translated into Tibetan language Amoghavarsha was the greatest patron of the Digambara Jainas A good many Digambara works were composed during the rule of the Rashtrakuta kings

Amoghavarsha's son and successor Krishna II Akalavarsha was a powerful prince In the Wardha grant and Navasari plates he is represented to have frightened the Gujaras, taken away sleep from the eyes of the people of the seacoast, humbled the Latas and Gaudas and subdued the kings of Andhra, Kalinga Ganga and Magadha But his most arduous campaigns were those against the Pratiharas and Eastern Chalukyas We know from the records of the Lata branch of the Rashtrakutas that their king Krishnaraja took a distinguished part in the wars against the Pratiharas Lokasena the pupil of Gunabhadra finished the composition of the *Jaina Purana* in the cyclic year *Pingala i e*, Saka 820, in the reign of Akalavarsha From the Saundatti inscription dated 797 Saka it appears that Akalavarsha began his reign during the lifetime of his father, when he abdicated the throne in his favour

From the Wardha grant we learn that Akalavarsha's son Jagattunga predeceased him and from the Kharepatan and Navasari grants we learn that Indra the son of Jagattunga, succeeded his grandfather From Navasari grant we know that Indra III Nityavarsha went to Kurundaka, modern Kadada on the banks of the Tapi for his Pattavandhotsava, probably a festival in honour of his coronation and granted many villages and spent 20 lakhs of Drammas in charity From the grant of the villages in the Navasari district which formed a part of the ancient Lata and from the statement in the Wardha grant of Akalavarsha that he humbled the pride of a Lata king we can conclude that the main branch of the Rashtrakutas supplanted their kinsmen in Gujarat From an inscription published by Fleet we know that Indra III was reigning in the cyclic year *Dhatu i.e*, 838 Saka

From the Wardha grant we know that Indra was succeeded by his son Amoghavarsha II From the Bhadan grant we know that he ruled for a year only His younger brother Govinda assassinated him and his widow fled with her infant son to Vengi under the protection of its ruler Amma I In the Sangali grant an attempt has been made to whitewash

the misdeeds of Govinda IV. The grant states, "though Govinda had the power, he did not act with any reprehensible cruelty towards his elder brother and did not render himself infamous by incest, or assume the nature of a devil by casting aside considerations of purity and impurity, but became Sahasanka by his matchless enterprise and liberality."

From the Kharepatan and Wardha grants we know that Govinda gave himself up to a life of sensual pleasures and so the affairs of the state fell into confusion and hastened his destruction. Govinda's ministers and feudatories requested Baddiga Amoghavarsha, an uncle of Govinda, to displace him. Amoghavarsha found no difficulty in overthrowing Govinda in 934 or 936 A.D.

Amoghavarsha was an aged man of 50 and was a virtuous prince, serene like a sage. He was succeeded by his son Krishna who during the lifetime of his father managed the affairs of the state on his behalf. Krishna deposed Rachchhyamalla or Rajamalla, king of Gangavadi, and enthroned his brother-in-law (sister's husband) Butuga, the younger brother of Rajamalla. He killed Dantiga and Bappuka, possibly feudatories, who became insolent. From the Karhad charter of 880 Saka we know that Krishna by depriving some of his feudatories of their principalities and conferring those upon more meritorious persons consolidated his power.

Krishna succeeded his father to the throne towards the end of 939 A.D. We know from the Karhad grant that he "with the idea of conquering the south, uprooted the Chola race, placed the territory ruled over by it under his own dependents, made the kings of the Chera, Pandya and other countries along with Simhala or Ceylon his tributaries, and erected a triumphal column at Ramesvara." From a Chingleput inscription we know that in collaboration with Butuga, the Ganga king, his brother-in-law, he captured Kanchi and Tanjore (943 A.D.). But the Chola king Parantaka recovered his dominions except Tondaimandalam *i.e.*, Arcot, Chingleput and Vellore districts. Rajaraja, the Chola crown prince lost his life in the battle of Takkolam in attempting to recover this territory. After that he penetrated upto Ramesvara and set up a column of victory there. He rewarded Butuga with some additional territories for his service. Tondaimandalam remained an integral part of the empire of Krishna till his death. From the Wardha grant we know that Krishna led an expedition to Bundelkhand and captured the forts of Kalanjara and Chitrakuta which the Gurjara prince aspired to possess. Krishna occupied Ujjayini from the Paramara king Siyaka. He placed his nominee Badapa on the Vengi throne by deposing Amma II. But later on Amma regained his throne and put an end to the Rashtrakuta influence in Vengi. In a Jaina work *Yasastilaka* by Somadeva it is stated that Krishnaraja subdued the Cholas, the Cheras and others. He was the lord of the whole of the Deccan in the full sense of the term *Sakala-dakshina dig-adhipati*. He was succeeded by his brother Khotika, who was on the throne in Saka 893.

Khotika was an old man when he ascended the throne, and, as such, lacking in military capacity. The Paramara king Siyaka avenged his

defeat by attacking the Rashtrakuta capital The city was plundered and the royal treasury was looted, the invader carried away even the office copies of the copper plate charters Khotika died of broken heart.

Khotika was succeeded by his nephew Kakkala or Karkka II, son of Nirupama and within eighteen months Tailapa II, a Chalukya feudatory put an end to the Rashtrakuta sovereignty

No substantial addition has been made by the author to the section XII dealing with the history of the later Chalukyas except the mention of an independent offshoot of the Chalukyas, ruling over a province named Jola in modern Dharvad district, in the Kanarese *Bharata* by a Jaina poet Pampa who was patronised by Arikesarin, the last named king of the list The kings ruling in succession were Yuddhamalla, Arikesarin, Narasimha, Dugdhamalla, Baddiga, Yuddhamalla, Narasimha and Arikesarin

In the next section devoted to the history of the Kalachuris the author repeats that the king Vikramaditya II of the early Chalukya dynasty married two Haihaya princesses who were sisters and the later princes of the dynasty were also connected with this family marimonially The Haihayas are also styled as Kalachuris or Kulachuris who ruled over the Chedi country, *i e*, the country round about Jabbalpur The founder of this dynasty was Krishna who was succeeded by his son Jogama and Jogama by Paramardin Paramardin was the father of Vijjana who usurped the throne of his master Tailapa II of the Later Chalukya dynasty

Vijjana s son Sodideva or Somesvara according to the Belgaum copper-plate charter dated 1096 Saka confirmed the grant of land to fourteen brahmins and to god Somesvara made by Bavaladevi, one of his queens

Speaking of the early history of the Yadavas of Devagiri in the section XIV (second edition) the author refers to two grants of earlier dates of the princes of Yadava dynasty found at Samgamner and Kalas-Budruk The author adds that the ancient name of Khandes was Seunadesa which was changed by the Mussalman rulers into Khandes to suit the title of Khan given to the Faruki kings by Ahmed I of Gujarat It originally extended further south and included Devagiri or Daulatabad and in the north it was limited upto the banks of the Tapi

In the aforesaid Samgamner grant Vaddiga is said to be a follower of Krishnaraja who is probably Krishna III of the Rashtrakuta dynasty The reason of the omission of the name of Dhadiyasa in two of the grants seems to the author to be this that he was only a collateral and not an ancestor of the grantor in the direct line

The author thinks that the Samgamner grant was issued by Bhillama II in 922 Saka *i e*, 1000 A D He is said in the grant to have curbed the power of Munja and rendered the sovereign authority of Ranarangabhima, who the author identifies as Tailapa, firm This shows that Yadavas transferred there allegiance from the Rashtrakutas to the Later Chalukyas after the fall of their former masters

We know from the Kalas-Badruk grant, which was issued by Bhillama in 948 Saka *i c*, 1025 A D, that Bhillama was Vesugi's son In stanza 24

of the Rajaprasasti (App C) of Hemadri's *Vratakhanda* the name Arjuna has been used only as a metaphor to compare Vesugi with Pandava Arjuna, it is not the name of his son as some scholars think.

In calculating the approximate date of the foundation of the Yadava dynasty the author has revised his opinion in the second edition. He corrects the number of the princes from Dridhaprahara to Bhillama inclusive as 22 instead of 23, and he allows the usual average of each reign as 18 instead of 19. The whole period from the accession of Dridhaprahara to the death of Bhillama, according to his calculation, is 396 years instead of 437 He concludes that the dynasty was founded about 717 Saka or 795 A D, *i e* about the time of Govinda III or in the latter part of the reign of Amoghavarsha I

In the genealogical list he has placed Dhadiyappa II and Bhillama II in the same generation as they were brothers Similarly he has done in the case of Parammadeva and Singhana He has omitted the name of Arjuna as it is only a metaphor.

Dealing with the later history of the Yadavas the author in the next section adds many historical materials from the introduction of Jahlana's *Suktimuktavali* From this source we know that Mallugi son of Singhana probably was at war with Vijjana of the Kalachuri dynasty Dada, the commander of his elephant troops, gained some advantages over the Kalachuris He had four sons—Mahidhara, Jahla, Samba and Gangadhara, all of whom were great warriors The eldest Mahidhara, who succeeded his father in his post, defeated the forces of Vijjana But it was Mallugi's son Bhillama who acquired the empire of the Chalukyas Mahidhara's brother Jahla was the commander of elephant troops of Bhillama By skilfully leading a mad elephant into the army of the Gurjara king he terrorised Malla, frightened the forces of Mallugi (who probably was an enemy of Bhillama belonging to the minor branch of the Yadavas) and cut short the victorious career of Munja and Anna Janardana, son of Gangadhara, became the commander of elephants and taught Singhana, Bhillama's grandson, the art of managing elephants which enabled him to vanquish Arjuna Lakshmideva, son of Janardhana helped Krishna, grandson of Singhana, by wise counsels to consolidate his power and by his sword subdued his enemies Jahlana, son of Lakshmideva, succeeded his father as commander of elephant troops and assisted Krishna by his counsels in conjunction with his younger brother and vanquished his enemies He compiled an anthology of Sanskrit verses called *Suktimuktavali*.

The Paithan grant of Ramachandra issued in Saka 1193, published in *Indian Antiquary*, vol xiv, corroborates the statement of Hemadri's *Vratrakhanda* that Jaitugi killed Rudradeva of Kakatiya dynasty, the king of Trikalinga in battle and released from prison his nephew Ganapati whom he placed on the throne This grant also supports the statement of *Vratakhanda* that Mahadeva, the son of Krishna, vanquished the Gujarat king who is named in the grant as Visaladeva

In a work of poetics called *Prataparudriya* by Vidyaranya there is a specimen of a dramatic play in which this Ganapati of Kakatiya dynasty

is represented to have left his throne to his daughter, whom he called his son and named Rudra, and who is spoken of as a king and not a queen. She adopted Prataprudra, son of her daughter as her heir. In Hemadri's *Vratakhanda* we find Mahadeva defeated this woman ruler of Tailangana, took away her elephants and five musical instruments but spared her life as she was a woman

From the Paithana grant we know that Mahadeva was succeeded by his son Amana but Ramachandra son of Krishna wrested the sovereignty from him in 1193 Saka. He assigned three villages to 57 brahmins on condition that they should not mortgage the land, or allow prostitutes to settle there, nor should they allow gambling and use of weapons there but should spend their time in doing good deeds

Further additional information which is added in the second edition is as follows

(a) Jajjalla whom king Simghana defeated must be a prince of the Eastern Chedi dynasty that ruled over Chhatisgarh and Kokkala is Kukkula, a prince of the Western branch of the family, whose capital was Tripura or Tevur The kings of Kasi and Mathura were also killed by him and Hammira was defeated by a boy general of him

(b) Sodhala, son of Bhaskara, a native of Kashmir, who had settled in the Deccan was the chief secretary (*Srikaranadhipa*) of Singhana as well as his two predecessors. Sodhala's son Sarangadhara wrote a treatise on music *Sangitaratnakara*, the commentary of which was written by his royal patron himself Changadeva, grandson of Bhaskaracharya, founded a Matha for the study of astronomy at Patna in Chalisgamn of the Khandes district Anantadeva, grandson of Sripati, brother of Bhaskaracharya and son of Ganapati, who was an astrologer in the court of Singhana, built a temple of Bhavani in the same division

In the last section of the text the author practically makes no additions except two lines where he says that the place Prayaga where Gandaraditya of the Silahara dynasty fed a hundred thousand brahmins is situated somewhere near Kolhapur and not modern Allahabad But it can be said that Gandaraditya came to Prayaga on pilgrimage and fed the brahmanas there I think this is not improbable

Modern researches have added many materials but it is not possible to deal with them here The interested readers may consult the following books for further information

1 *Deccan of the Satavahana period* by D R Bhandarkar.

2 *Early History of the Andhra Country* by K Gopalachari

3 *History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradesa* by B V Krishna Rao

4 "The Chronology of the Satavahanas", *Sir Ashutosh Memorial Volume*, Pt II, by R C Majumdar

5 *Successors of the Satavahanas in the Lower Deccan* by D C Sirkar

6 *The Eastern Chalukyas* by D C Ganguly.

7 *The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi* by N. Venkataramanayya.

8 *Rashtrakutas and their Times* by A S. Altekar

9 *Ancient History of the Deccan* by G Jouveau Dubreuil (translated by V S Swaminandha Dikshitar).

10 "The Chronology of the Campaigns of Govinda III of the Rashtrakutas", *D R Bhandarkar Volume* by A S. Altekar

11 *Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments*, MASI, Calcutta, 1931, by R D Banerjee

12 *History of the Mediaeval Hindu India III* by C V Vaidya

13 *History of South India* by K A Nilakanta Sastri

14 *Chalukyas of Gujarata* by A K Majumdar

15 "The Silaharas of Western India" *IC*, II by A S Altekar

16 *History of the Paramara Dynasty* by D C Ganguly

17 *The Hoysalas* by J D M Derrett

18 *Hoysalas of the Tamil Country* by K R Venkataraman

19 *The History and Culture of the Indian People* Vol II

20 Do Vol III

21 Do Vol IV

22 Do Vol V.